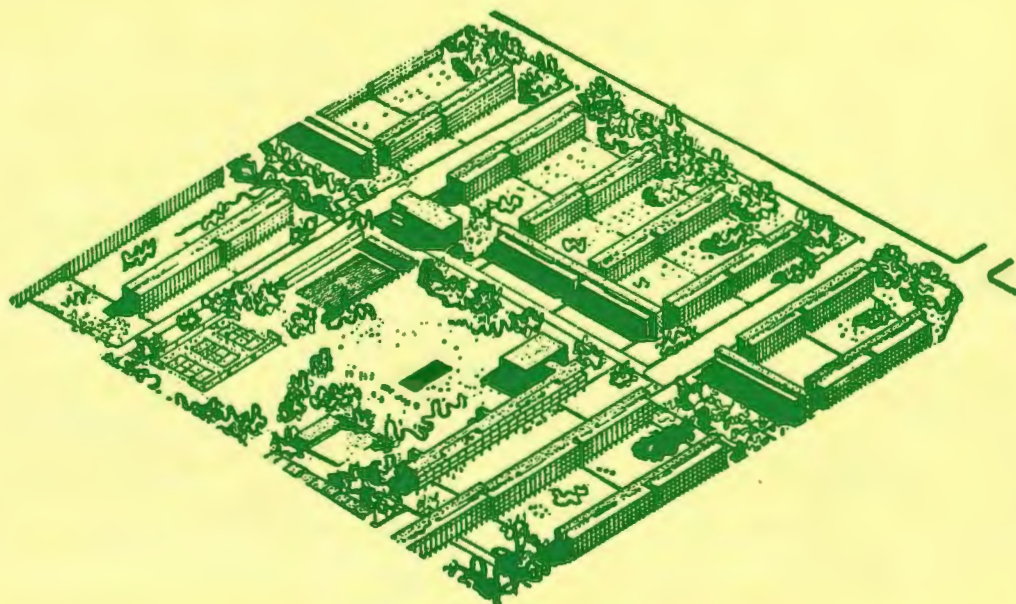


COMMUNITY PLANNING ASSOCIATION OF CANADA

COMMUNITY PLANNING REVIEW



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REVUE CANADIENNE D'URBANISME

L'ASSOCIATION CANADIENNE D'URBANISME

COMMUNITY PLANNING REVIEW

REVUE CANADIENNE D'URBANISME

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COMMUNITY PLANNING ASSOCIATION OF CANADA
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CONTENTS

Table des MATIÈRES

CANADIAN TOWNSCAPE <i>L'APPARENCE DU CANADA URBAIN</i>	39
EDITORIAL NOTE <i>NOTE DE LA REDACTION</i>	40
ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF URBAN REDEVELOPMENT B: PROSPECTS FOR CANADIAN REDEVELOPMENT by Leonard Gertler	42
<i>QUELLES FORMES PRENDront NOS GRANDES VILLES?</i> <i>par Paul Windels</i> <i>traduit d'anglais par Benoit Bégin</i>	53
CLAIMS ON WATER AND LAND IN THE URBAN FRINGE by Walter Creswick	61
SHORTER NOTES AND REVIEWS <i>BREFS ET COMMENTAIRES</i> THE COMMON LAW AS A PLANNING INSTRUMENT by William T. Lane ARTHUR GALLION: THE URBAN PATTERN reviewed by V. J. Kostka LEONARD MARSH: REBUILDING A NEIGHBOURHOOD reviewed by John S. Morgan	68

Volume I, No. 2

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1951

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The need for defence can also signify opportunity to improve the look of the place: this blockhouse at Merrickville, Ontario, was built to protect us from the Yankees

Photo Anson B. Cutts

Les nécessités de la défense peuvent aussi fournir l'occasion d'améliorer l'aspect d'une localité. Voici un blockhaus qui a été construit à Merrickville (Ont.) en vue de nous protéger contre les Yankis

EDITORIAL NOTE

WHEN man has spread his works over only two or three percent of the area of Canada, it might seem paradoxical that he should have any difficulty in determining where next to build. The difficulty arises because we have concentrated so much urbanization in so few places. Our major centres are grown so large they are beginning to trip over their own outskirts. Their clumsiness is only magnified when the need arises to defend them; but the living problems of the bulky city stand before and beyond that special possibility.

The issue has been raised in Parliament. Scarce materials are once more being publicly directed towards essential industrial plants and supporting facilities. Thus we need a national policy on industrial location that will be quite as definite and effective as those bearing on the kinds and quantities of industrial output. The nation has before it new proposals from a Royal Commission for subsidizing inter-regional rail transport, and older proposals for developing the St. Lawrence as a waterway and source of electricity. Patterns of urbanization and communication are interdependent, and the national policies affecting them must be compatible. So run the arguments.

The Prime Minister spoke to some of these points in the House of Commons, saying that "everyone would be in agreement with the desirability of there being a greater dispersal of industry throughout the whole nation". The Rt. Hon. C. D. Howe added that "we do keep in mind the desirability of building up areas which are not heavily industrialized, and . . . we will continue to follow that policy". But again "you have to be sure that (a factory) can compete on reasonable terms with similar industries in large centres". With these realistic reservations the dispersal policy of the national government has been declared.

The Parliamentary pleas for dispersal of industry were made and answered chiefly in the name of distribution between regions; some of the remarks almost bore the taint of the empty pork barrel. Little was said of decentralization away from the principal cities within each region. It is well to distinguish between these two kinds of dispersal. What tendency has there been towards dispersal in each sense?

The construction review of 1950 given by *The Financial Post* yields some rough and ready answers as

to the location of the largest current projects. Some forty major industrial contracts are listed, amounting in all to a \$300,000,000 investment. In proportion to the present working force in each region, B.C. is getting the greatest share of these huge new works, Ontario ranks second, the Prairies third, then Quebec and the Maritimes. In other words, the largest two-score industrial undertakings begun in 1950 are not concentrated in the central provinces; the trend in their location is westward.

As to the choice between large metropolitan cities and smaller places, the tendency to disperse these large projects is even more marked. Only in Alberta do we find them concentrated—in Edmonton. In the provinces more fully industrialized, the shift is away from primary metropolitan centres, insofar as these multimillion dollar items reveal it. Of the construction value of the projects listed, the lion's share is being placed *outside* greater Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver.

Success in locating new industries away from principal cities will depend upon the readiness of subsidiary towns to receive the many developments being launched. Cities of modest population can best accommodate factories of modest size; the sponsors of such plants are very sensitive to the amount of local preparedness they may anticipate. Are local Councils and their planning advisers engaged in this preparatory self-help? It now lies in their hands to determine how acceptable the invitations to industrial dispersal will ultimately prove to be.

IN the articles here presented, some facets of this local opportunity appear. Leonard Gertler concludes his paper on urban redevelopment—the need for which results in part from disorganized reactions against urban over-concentration. Real costs of metropolitan living, and orderly alternatives now offered, are outlined in an address by the President of the Regional Plan Association; the address has been translated for our French readers by Benoît Bégin of the National Capital Planning Service.

Walter Creswick of the Ontario Department of Planning and Development points to limits set by Nature upon the unrelieved spread of the metropolis. Finally books are reviewed which outline the human organization and physical patterns proposed to secure better surroundings for the industrial society which we are become.

Note de la Rédaction

N'EST-IL pas paradoxal de se demander, au Canada, alors que la main de l'homme a à peine touché deux ou trois pour cent de la superficie du pays, à quel endroit nous allons construire? Où allons-nous urbaniser? Voilà bien la question qu'on se pose plus que jamais. Dans notre monde d'aujourd'hui, nous nous inquiétons doublement de savoir où nous établirons de nouveaux endroits où travailleront les Canadiens et quel sera l'aspect des nouvelles agglomérations.

La question a été soulevée au Parlement. On y a fait observer que plus de la moitié des usines aménagées durant le dernier conflit appartenaient à l'Etat ou recevaient son assistance. De nouveau, le Gouvernement réquisitionne les matériaux rares pour les mettre à la disposition des fabriques de denrées essentielles ou de celles qui approvisionnent ces dernières. Ainsi donc, il nous faut songer à un programme national visant l'emplacement des industries et qui sera tout aussi précis et efficace que notre programme visant le volume de notre production industrielle et les diverses catégories de denrées. La construction de bâtiments permanents devant servir à la production de défense est actuellement adjudgée au rythme d'environ 15 millions de dollars par mois. Il est donc grand temps de formuler un programme d'emplacement industriel. La population du pays a été saisie, récemment, de propositions nouvelles d'après lesquelles, selon une Commission royale, on devrait subventionner le transport ferroviaire inter-régional, et d'autres propositions moins nouvelles, celles-là, visant la mise en valeur du Saint-Laurent comme voie navigable et source d'énergie électrique. Les plans visant l'aménagement des agglomérations urbaines et les moyens de communication s'interpénètrent et les programmes nationaux qui s'y rattachent doivent être compatibles. Voilà donc l'état de la question.

Le premier ministre a abordé quelques-uns de ces aspects à la Chambre des communes, lorsqu'il a mentionné que "tous conviendraient des avantages qu'il y aurait à une décentralisation plus grande de notre industrie à travers le pays". De son côté, le T.-H. C. D. Howe a ajouté que "nous ne perdons pas de vue l'avantage de construire dans des régions qui ne sont pas encore fortement industrialisées et . . . nous nous en tiendrons à cette ligne de conduite". Ailleurs, il ajoutait "qu'il importe de s'assurer qu'une fabrique peut livrer avantageusement la concurrence à des industries fabriquant des pro-

duits semblables dans les grandes villes". Tout en tenant compte de ces réserves précises, le gouvernement fédéral se trouve à avoir fait connaître son attitude à l'égard de la répartition des industries à travers le pays.

Les plaidoyers présentés au Parlement en faveur d'une telle répartition des industries, tout comme les réponses qu'on y a données, faisaient surtout état de la répartition entre les régions; on n'a guère parlé d'éloigner les industries des principales villes de chaque région. Il convient de distinguer entre ces deux catégories de répartition des industries.

Les chefs politiques et industriels réussiront à établir de nouvelles industries en dehors des grandes villes dans la mesure où les autorités municipales auront préparé leurs localités à accueillir les nombreuses industries nouvelles. Une ville de population moyenne convient le mieux à l'installation d'une industrie de moyenne importance, dont les dirigeants s'intéressent beaucoup à la collaboration qu'ils peuvent espérer des autorités locales. Il appartient aux autorités municipales prévoyant l'installation de nouvelles industries de se préparer activement. Les conseils municipaux et leurs conseillers en matière d'urbanisme s'aident-ils réellement eux-mêmes? C'est à eux qu'il appartient de démontrer jusqu'à quel point les invitations à répartir de façon plus générale les industries seront, en définitive, acceptables.

LES articles que nous publions ici offrent certains aspects des occasions dont doivent bénéficier les autorités municipales. M. Leonard Gertler termine son article sur le coût élevé que comporte la transformation radicale du centre des villes et les perspectives guère prometteuses qu'offre cette transformation rendue nécessaire, pour une part, par suite des premières réactions que soulève une trop grande concentration urbaine. M. Paul Windels, président de la *Regional Plan Association*, a étudié le coût réel de la vie dans les villes et les choix méthodiques qui s'offrent de nos jours.

M. Walter Creswick, du ministère ontarien de l'Urbanisme et du Développement, indique les limites qu'a prévues la Nature à une expansion ininterrompue de la Métropole de l'Ontario. Nous présentons enfin une revue de livres qui soulignent la façon dont hommes et choses peuvent assurer un voisinage mieux équilibré et plus agréable dans le monde industriel dont nous nous apprêtons à faire partie.

Voici la dernière partie de l'étude de M. Gertler sur les perspectives économiques que présentent les modifications radicales des vieux centres urbains du pays. L'auteur croit que certaines modifications apportées à la loi nationale sur l'habitation permettront d'atteindre une telle fin importante.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF URBAN REDEVELOPMENT

B: PROSPECTS FOR CANADIAN REDEVELOPMENT

by Leonard Gertler

(Conclusion of article begun in Vol. I, No. 1)

URBAN redevelopment as here conceived involves three essentials: (1) Coordination with a comprehensive planning program; (2) the assembly of a large tract of urban land; (3) and the provision of low-rental housing for displaced families. Each of these features has its justification, based on sound economic and welfare principles.

COORDINATION WITH PLANNING PROGRAM

Emerging from our enquiry into the fundamental causes of blight was the fact that the spread and intensification of decay has been due to the long-term miscalculation of land use tendencies. If, then, we are to rebuild the decayed areas of our cities in a sound manner our efforts should be based on a thorough understanding of the basic land use trends in the urban area as a whole. And here is where the comprehensive plan comes in. It is important that the concept of the comprehensive or master plan be clearly understood. Its creator is the expertly staffed planning commission or local department of planning. Its aim is to make the urban land use pattern more efficient in terms of the modern city's two major functions—the production and distribution of goods and services, and the provision of healthy, safe and pleasant living conditions. Its method is one of research and recommendation. Its essential instruments are the subdivision plan which governs the arrangement of the detailed, plot by plot, predominant and ancillary uses in an area; the zoning law which defines and controls zones of land use, building bulk, and sometimes population density; and the official plan or map which gives the immediate recommendations of the planning authority the force of law. It is to this kind of plan that each redevelopment project must be related if it is to contribute to the over-all efficiency of the community²³.

²³ For the concept of the comprehensive plan:

John Bland: *Planning Suggestions for Canadian Communities*. The Canadian Chamber of Commerce—p. 65.

Robert Lasch: *Breaking the Building Blockade*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1946—p. 220.

Op. cit.—Henry S. Churchill—p. 180, 181.

John M. Kitchen, *On Zoning*—Speech to citizens of Hull, 1947.

H. Spence-Sales: *How to Subdivide*, Community Planning Association, Ottawa, 1950.

A number of Canadian cities have taken the first steps towards integrated redevelopment. Saint John's master plan, for example, has recommended that one of its major blighted areas which houses 5,000 people be redeveloped with a population of 1,000 and that the freed land be devoted to industry, traffic arteries and parks²⁴. The major factors in its decision were these:

- 1) *Topography*. A considerable part of the present built-up area is "rocky and precipitous", and therefore, unsuited to residential development. It is a striking example of the irrationalities of a gridiron street pattern imposed without any respect for the natural contours of the land. Being unfit for building development of any kind, the steep, rocky parts of this slum area, the planners suggest, should be reserved as open space and linked up with the city's central Fort Howe park, immediately to the north.
- 2) *Railways and docks*. The southern part of the area is cut through by railway tracks, and fronts on the harbour. Industry, taking advantage of the transportation facilities has made considerable inroads into this section. The land use map, however reveals an indiscriminate mixture of residence and industry. The planners recognize the inevitable and propose the elimination of housing altogether from this southern part.
- 3) *Traffic conditions*. The area happens to be within the path of the city's major west-east traffic artery. Decongestion of the city's traffic system requires the construction of alternative routes, two of which, one running east and the other north, will cut through the area in question. It is suggested that the land adjacent to the west-east artery be turned into a strip park, making the artery an effective buffer between the industrial development along the railway, and the residential and commercial areas to the north.

If all these proposed changes are carried out, only a small area sufficient to house 1,000 people will remain for residential purposes. Because the area is segregated from other residential sections by major traffic routes on its northern and eastern boundaries, and because it is far from a school and not large enough to support a new school, the planners propose that it be developed with apartments for family units having no school age children. It is proposed that the remaining 4,000 people be rehoused in new or presently incomplete neighbourhoods within walking distance or at most within three-quarters of a mile from employment centres²⁵.

²⁴ Op. cit.—Master Plan Report—Saint John, N.B.—p. 88.

²⁵ Ibid—p. 29-36, 37-39, 43-46, 48, 56-59, 67.

Study of redevelopment in Saint John and other Canadian cities²⁶ offers convincing evidence that the planner cannot decide the use to which a given area will be put without seeing it in relation to other areas, other vital activities, other needs. Once the necessity for this kind of integration is granted, it follows that not only must sound redevelopment proceed within the framework of a comprehensive plan, but it must be a plan which embraces a complete economic and social unit, irrespective of political boundaries.

ASSEMBLY OF URBAN LAND

The major economic factor pressing for a large scale of operations is the need to protect the value of the new investment. The consequences of rebuilding in a piecemeal fashion are well known. It has been estimated that a new residential building placed in the midst of a slum loses upon completion half or more of its cost by the mere fact of its association with the slum²⁷. The problem faced by the redevelopment authority, then, is to discover the scale of operations which will result in new buildings being worth at least their reproduction cost. This implies the elimination of all value-depressing conditions. Thus, in modern cities where often whole neighbourhoods are blighted, redevelopment must usually proceed on a neighbourhood basis. At this point, economic and social necessities merge. Not only is there a certain minimum population required to support the basic social services of a living area, but redevelopment on a neighbourhood basis with say 2,500 to 10,000 people enjoying common services is the very condition likely to stimulate—providing the facilities are adequate and rationally related—that kind of constructive community spirit which translates itself into well-kept homes and stable economic values²⁸.

PROVISION OF LOW-RENTAL HOUSING

The relationship between redevelopment, slum clearance, and low-rent housing needs clarification. Redevelopment, as here conceived, usually means slum clearance, but it means more than that. Because it is part of an overall urban area plan, the slum land which is cleared may not find its best use in low-rent dwellings. The dispersal of industry to the fringe, for example, may suggest a relocation of factory workers of close-in areas to outlying neighbourhoods. Thus the use to which the cleared land is put and the location of houses for displaced families can only be decided by an analysis of land uses in relation to the social and economic needs of the city as a whole.

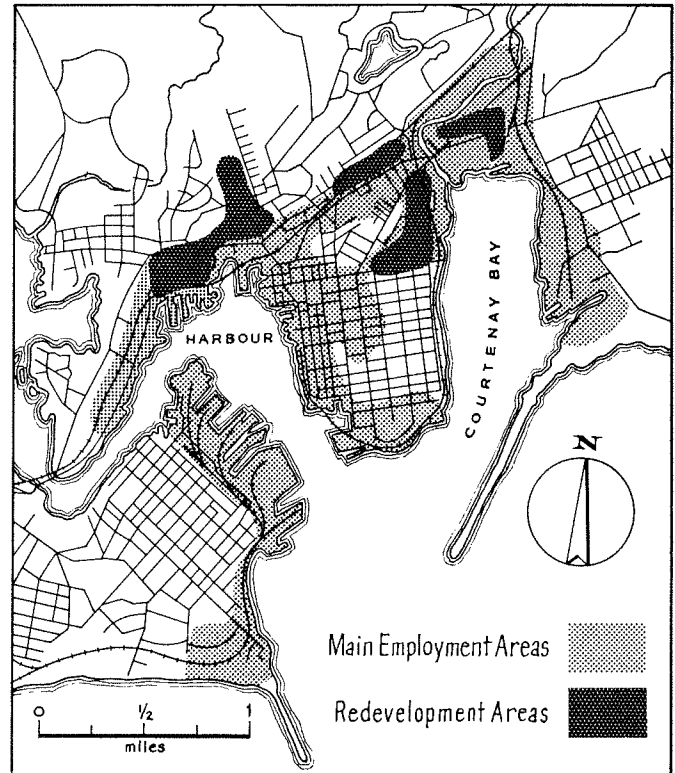
²⁶ *Third Report and Official Plan*. Toronto City Planning Board. July 21st, 1949—p. 9, 10.

Op. cit.—*Residential Areas, Greater Winnipeg*—p. 41.

²⁷ Homer Hoyt and Leonard C. Smith, "The Valuation of Land in Urban Blighted Areas," *Appraisal Journal*. July, 1943—p. 202.

²⁸ Gitterman, S. A., "Objectives of Community Planning," *Public Affairs*, October, 1947.

SAINT-JEAN: Les principales zones d'emploi et les zones destinées à être transformées



SAINT JOHN: Principal zones for employment and redevelopment (from 1946 and 1949 Reports of Town Planning Commission)

However much one may care to separate redevelopment and low-rent housing in theory, they cannot be so separated in practice. A report on redevelopment activities in Detroit commences with a vigorous disavowal of the connection between the two necessities in question, and then as the discussion proceeds to the application of policies there is an oblique recognition of the inescapable link between them. The report says that "because of the need for low-rent homes, it seems obvious that the initial start should be made with the low-rent home. To get actual demolition under way, it is proposed that present residents of the 100-acre site will, when the land has been condemned, be admitted to residence in newly-constructed public housing projects²⁹." The same necessity has been recognized by planning authorities throughout the world³⁰.

²⁹ Charles F. Edgecomb, "Urban Redevelopment Is Under Way: Detroit", *Planning*, 1947, Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the America Society of Planning Officials—p. 156.

Ibid—Otto K. Jensen on Indianapolis—p. 161.

³⁰ Percy C. Nobbs, "City Owned Lands and Housing Problems in Montreal," *Housing and Community Planning*, McGill University, 1944—p. 196-203.

Max Lock: *The Middlesbrough Survey and Plan*, The Middlesbrough Corporation, Yorkshire, October, 1946—p. 200.

In the light of the foregoing it appears to the writer that land assembly plus clearance and low-rental (of necessity, usually public) housing are but two essential steps in the redevelopment process. Neither is sufficient without the other. While for the housing authority, public housing certainly does not always mean slum clearance, for the redevelopment authority slum clearance always involves low-rental housing accommodation for the uprooted families.

Urban redevelopment has become an urgent necessity; why, you may well ask, is it not more vigorously pursued by Canadian cities? The reasons are many. But, economically speaking, they can be narrowed down to mainly two obstacles—those which arise out of high land costs and out of limited incomes.

THE BARRIER OF ACQUISITION COSTS

The first step in redevelopment is the acquisition of a large tract of land. It follows that the feasibility of the whole process will depend much upon initial costs being within the reach of the redeveloping authority. And here is where the trouble begins. The accompanying table reveals for Montreal and Toronto a condition which is general in North American cities, namely that blighted land is usually much more expensive than other land available for building.

TABLE II—ASSESSED VALUE OF LAND AND BUILDINGS in Blighted Areas Compared with Cost of Land Suburban Area, Montreal and Toronto

City	Year of Assessment	Average Assessed value, sq. ft. Blight	Cost of Land, suburban
Montreal	1947	\$1.27	\$.125
Toronto	1944	1.04	.033

Sources: For Montreal, op. cit. Raoul Blanchard—p. 174.

Average value in 5 blighted wards—St. Gabriel, Ste Marie, Ste. Cunegonde, St. Henri, Hochelaga.

Moderate-Rental Housing Project for Montreal Metropolitan District. The Metropolitan Housing Corporation, Spring, 1947, (unpublished)—p. 5. The cost of purchase for housing project of 25½ acres in Ville St. Laurent, independent suburban municipality.

For Toronto

Third Annual Report of The City Planning Board, Toronto, December 30, 1944. Plates 4, 7, 10. Residential values in three blighted areas Regent Park, Trinity, Yorkville.

Annual Report of the Assessment Commissioner for the City of Toronto. Year Ended December 31st, 1946—p. 48.—assessed value of land in York Township, independent suburban municipality.

This great difference in cost is not mainly due to the fact that the figure for blight includes the value of buildings. In slums, there is a reversal of the customary land value to improvements value ratio of 30% to 50%. A Toronto survey, for example, reported that "in the areas of good housing the land is assessed at approximately 50% of the buildings, while in the bad districts the land assessment is 131.8% of the building assessment³¹." The low value of slum buildings is explained by the economic principle

of substitution. Since equivalent buildings can be reproduced at current labor and material costs, no slum building can be worth more than its reproduction costs new less depreciation. Most slum buildings being well advanced in years and situated in declining neighbourhoods, their loss of value through depreciation is great. Thus the value of the land remains as the decisive factor in the high cost of slum acquisition.

It has already been suggested that there are some basic land use trends working towards the long-term decline of values in deteriorated areas. The statistics, however, indicate that assessed values are still relatively high. This rigidity of assessed values seriously affects the possibilities of redevelopment because the condemnation values set by the courts are usually based on assessments³². If, then, we are to find the correct ways of surmounting the barrier of acquisition costs we must know the underlying causes of high assessments.

Generally speaking, assessments are maintained by (1) the influence of mortgagees and property-owners with a stake in high values, (2) by the determination of landlords to be compensated for the loss of illegally or exploitatively earned profits, (3) by speculative pressure and overzoning for commercial areas, and (4) by the belief of local governments that assessments in sub-standard areas must be kept up to maintain revenues³³.

The dependence on *ad valorem* property taxes for the bulk of local revenues, in particular, sets a limit to the decline of assessed values because, (a) in most cities the bonded debt cannot exceed a certain percentage of assessed values; a decline in values brings technical bankruptcy, and (b) because they constitute the tax base from which expanding local services are financed. As a result, not only do acquisition costs remain high, but one of the fundamental canons of taxation, the principle of ability to pay, is violated.

High acquisition costs apart from preventing redevelopment altogether, may when they are absorbed by a project cause a serious distortion of objectives. It forces a choice between either high rents and low density or low rents and high density. The result may be a development like Metropolitan Life's Stuyvesant Town, which, in spite of liberal tax exemptions, is based on an economic density of 324 per gross acre, or more than double the previously prevailing density. Thus what was an attempt to eliminate congestion and its blighting effects ends up as the slum of tomorrow³⁴.

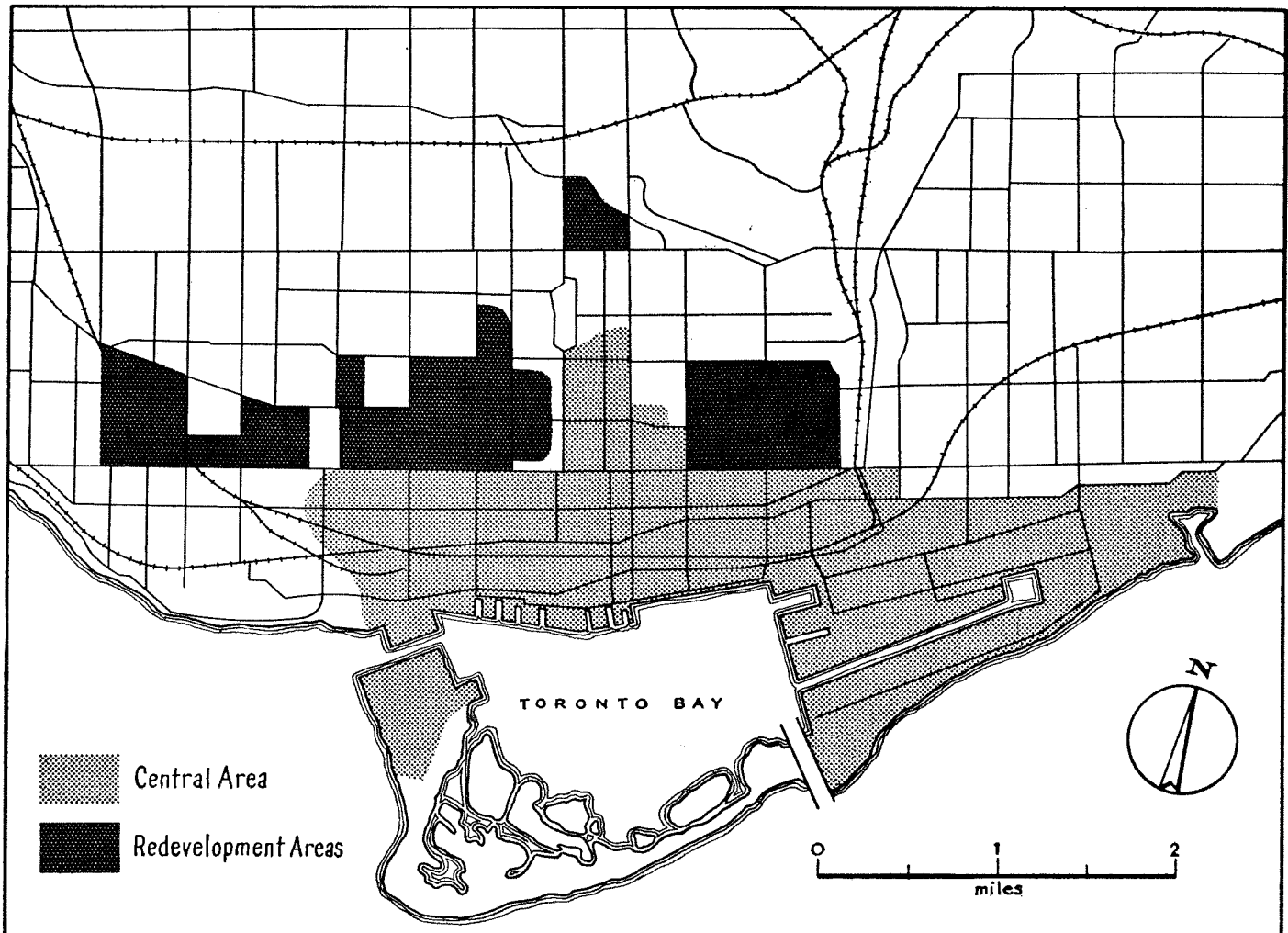
Added to the economic problem is a closely allied

³¹Housing Conditions in Toronto. Report of Lieutenant Governor's Committee, 1934—p. 59.

³²Under Quebec law, for example, land for redevelopment must be acquired by condemnation proceedings which start from the assumption that the assessed value is the fair value.

³³Hansen & Perloff: *State and Local Finance in the National Economy*. Norton and Company, New York, 1944—p. 116.

³⁴Guy Greer: *Your City Tomorrow*, The Macmillan Co., N.Y., 1947—p. 26, 27-109, 110.



TORONTO: Central Area and suggested Redevelopment Areas (from 1943 and 1949 Reports of City Planning Board)

TORONTO: La région centrale et les régions de remise en valeur proposées

legal-social problem, arising from the fact that a blighted area may be in the hands of a large number of private owners, whose immediate economic interest is to maximize profits. Acquiring land, then, and acquiring it at a reasonable price, say, at least the price before announcement of redevelopment, may ultimately involve some interference with the free play of market forces and some transgression of what are normally regarded as "the rights of private property". This problem and the strictly economic one are so closely intertwined that they very often demand a common solution.

If it is true blighted areas are characterized by a decline in the prospects of future income, then the persistence of high assessed values in such areas indicates the neglect by assessors of income as a factor in valuation. Three principal methods for determining the value of real estate have been developed, namely the market data, reproduction cost and income methods. In general terms, they

may be described as follows:

The market data method—estimates the value of a given property on the basis of information about prices and rents of similar properties preferably in the same general location and of the same size, utility, appeal, and standard of maintenance. *The reproduction cost method*—involves the estimation of the investment required under current market conditions to acquire a similar parcel of land and to construct on the land an identical building (that is, physically or functionally), deducting from the "reproduction cost new" accrued depreciation of all types.

The income method—determines the value of a property by estimating the "normal" annual net income expected throughout its economic life, and capitalizing it at a rate which takes into account the current rate of interest and the investment risk involved, that is, the degree of certainty or uncertainty of the future income stream, in the particular property³⁵.

³⁵ Alfred A. Ring, "Assessment Methods for Urban Real Property," *Appraisal Journal*, October, 1949.

A. M. Weimer and Homer Hoyt: *Principles of Urban Real Estate*, 1948. Ch. I-II.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF URBAN REDEVELOPMENT

Voici une exemple frappant des zones de modification à Montréal. La zone indiquée ici se trouve à moins d'un mille au nord-est du carré Phillips



Typical of redevelopment areas in Montreal; this one is less than a mile northeast of Phillips Square Photo L. Gertler

It is commonly asserted that these methods are not mutually exclusive, that each has its proper use, depending on the purpose of the valuation, the type of income produced by the property, and the type of data available for use. The income method is recommended where returns can be measured in dollars (as contrasted to amenities). It is therefore peculiarly applicable to blighted areas where the vast majority of residential units are tenant-occupied. And yet the best objective evidence we have been able to muster, and the testimonies of men working in the appraisal field, strongly suggest that the income basis of property valuation is either not used, or is used inaccurately. It is of interest, therefore, to investigate whether the income approach to valuation applied to blighted land will make it possible to acquire such land at a cost that will be less than (or at least equal to) its future value as part of a large-scale redevelopment? The answer is unqualifiedly in the affirmative. For it is of the *essence* of the method as here conceived that an informed and realistic appraisal be made of the factors which affect both the residual land income and the capitalization rate. If the deductions of this study are correct and the long-term prospects of income for blighted areas are declining, then the cost of acquiring any large piece of slum land, valued by the income method, will be less than its future redeveloped value. This is true first because redevelopment implies an im-

provement of future earning capacity—the turning of an area which is an economic liability into an asset. And it is true because the assembly of a large number of individual parcels of land into one large tract which makes possible the highest and best use³⁶, namely the redevelopment of a whole neighbourhood, creates an increment of value, a plottage value which is rightly imputed to the efforts of the redeveloping entity³⁷.

There is no doubt that the adoption of a more rational method of valuation would bring down the cost of large-scale acquisition. Changing established assessments, however, is always politically difficult. "The resentment of the area concerned," observes C. A. Curtis, "is likely to be more active than the gratitude of those areas which are benefited³⁸." What is needed at this time, then, is an approach which finds a more direct answer to the problem of valuation as part of a definitive and workable scheme of redevelopment.

HOLDEN: REDEVELOPMENT BY VOLUNTARY POOLING

As a first step towards this ideal let us consider the views of Arthur C. Holden³⁹. Briefly the kind of arrangement he visualizes may be described as follows: A redevelopment corporation formed by the major ownership interests themselves will be equipped with the power of eminent domain, that is the power to compel individual property interests to conform to a redevelopment plan, including, if necessary, the power to appropriate, with compensation, full rights to specific properties. The ownership interests will come together and agree to compose their conflicting claims. Instead of the customary individual condemnation proceeding in court, a trusteeship will be formed for the purpose of appraising all participating properties on a ratio basis and re-apportioning and redistributing properties on the basis of the established ratio of interest. Absentee owners will receive stock; owner occupants, equivalent use in the reconstructed neighbourhood; and mortgagees, a first lien on the participating shares of the ownership interests. Compensation in the form of money will be extended only when the corporation fails "to provide equivalent advantages as a result of the change of property use." The desirable land use patterns will be accomplished by a rearrangement of uses and by changes in some property forms and some contractual relationships.

It is Holden's contention that land assembly by pooling and assignment of shares of interest has the great

³⁶ This is "highest" use defined in terms of social income.

³⁷ Homer Hoyt and Leonard C. Smith, "The Valuation of Land in Urban Blighted Areas." *Appraisal Journal*, July, 1943—p. 202, 203.

³⁸ C. A. Curtis, "Municipal Finance." *Planning No. 4*, School of Architecture, University of Toronto, 1944.

³⁹ Arthur C. Holden. "Technique of Urban Redevelopment," Part I, II, III *Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics*, May, 1944; August, 1944; February, 1945.

merit of making redevelopment financially feasible. This is so because in the type of operation visualized the corporation is compelled neither to take over *all* of the rights to *all* of the property involved nor to pay monetary compensation to existing interests on the basis of the *total value* of all parcels that become a part of the assembly.

There are, the writer believes, three critical observations to be made which seriously shake Holden's whole structure. In the first place, the onus of responsibility for initiating redevelopment is put in the wrong place. Voluntary pooling assumes that a large proportion of individual owners are convinced that such action would be to their advantage. Although it is undeniably true that a blighted area as a whole is economically doomed, the individual property may continue for some time to yield good profits for both ownership and mortgage interests. Circumstances and attitudes may vary from city to city, depending on the extent of the decline. But, speaking generally, one might at least question whether the type of absentee landlord who prevails in blighted areas will voluntarily assume responsibility for redevelopment. Experience thus far has not been encouraging. Holden's experiments during the thirties, it has been reported, failed because "it turned out to be impossible to get all the owners of even one block to agree⁴⁰."

Secondly, making former absentee owners stockholders in a redevelopment corporation and compensating occupant owners by equivalent facilities in a new development suggests a perpetuation of the old use into the future. But the use to which any area should be devoted, we have seen, can only be determined by careful analysis of the particular area—its topography, location with respect to traffic and transport, industry, commerce, etc.—in relation to over-all urban needs and prevailing land use tendencies. Thus, in his commendable effort to painlessly reduce the costs of acquisition, Holden has laid down conditions which may preclude the most economic and functionally suitable use of blighted areas.

Thirdly, Holden's technique precludes low-rental developments because the lure of profits is necessary to make owners forego an immediate income (in money or in kind) for a future one. In the New York redevelopment scheme chosen by Holden to illustrate his principles the average monthly rental is \$75 compared with \$23 before redevelopment⁴¹. And this is so in spite of the fact that pressure from high land values is reduced.

GREER-HANSEN: ASSEMBLY WITH FEDERAL AID

In many respects the Greer-Hansen program appears to provide the proper remedies for the deficiencies inherent in the Holden type of approach⁴². In essence, their program amounts to this—let the local government buy

up the slum land, assemble it in large tracts, revalue it on the basis of its future use determined by a qualified planning commission, and lease or sell it to any entity, private or public, that will use the land in accordance with an official redevelopment plan. This type of approach, it is submitted, besides being uncomplicated and capable of being applied with dispatch, has the supreme virtue of wiping out the errors and miscalculations of the past—errors which came down to us in the form of obstructively high land values. The economic pressure for high density and high rents is thus removed.

It will be noted that in the foregoing proposal, the responsibility for initiating land assembly lies with the local government. To encourage such action, the program recommends that the state invest the municipality with broad powers of eminent domain and that the federal government extend grants for buying up the slums—grants which are to be repaid, so far as possible "out of subsequent proceeds from the use of the land in accordance with the master plan." Such federal aid is made necessary by the limited financial resources of municipalities, and is justified because "the problem involves the welfare of over 50 per cent of our population" and the efficiency of the entire national economy.

The Greer-Hansen approach avoids some of the shortcomings of Holden's technique in the following ways. First, responsibility for initiation is lodged where the cumulative effects of blight, in terms of increased costs and falling revenue, impinge most forcefully, and conversely, where the over-all needs of redevelopment can be most clearly visualized.

Secondly, assembly by purchase and on the basis of acquiring *full right* to every parcel of land, deprives former owners of any influence on the future development of a once blighted area.

For the third of the deficiencies inherent in Holden's method, the propensity towards high rents, a thoroughly satisfactory remedy is not found in the Greer-Hansen program. Leaving the way open for resale of the land, even with controls, creates the danger that the old errors and speculative excesses might reappear. And yet in spite of this widely recognized danger they do not insist upon the alternative of public ownership of land and lease to private enterprise. This practice is to be preferred over outright sale, in the first instance, because it makes possible the control of land use in the public interest. It is to be preferred, as well, for an important economic reason. If the land is bought by a public agency and remains indefinitely in public ownership, its cost need be amortized only once after which annual capital charges on account of land, an element of rent, automatically cease. If, on the other hand, land is sold

⁴²Guy Greer and A. H. Hansen: *Urban Redevelopment and Housing*. National Planning Association, Washington, D.C.

Op. cit.—Your City Tomorrow.

Op. cit.—State and Local Finance in the National Economy.

⁴⁰Op. cit.—Guy Greer—p. 106.

⁴¹Op. cit.—Holden—Part I—p. 140.

and resold each succeeding owner must amortize the land anew, and as a result, it remains a charge against the tenants in the form of higher rents. Thus, it appears that the method of land assembly, and the method of disposition and control of the land are intimately related.

The Greer-Hansen prescriptions for land assembly, it is the writer's belief, represent a substantial advance towards a workable solution. There is, however, one major criticism of their program, a subtle but significant shift of emphasis, which must be taken into account, absorbed and integrated with our own evolving point of view. We refer to the opinions of Nathan Straus.

STRAUS: ASSEMBLY BY SUPPLY OF HOUSING

The part of Straus' writing with which we are here concerned is that in which he criticizes the central assumption of the Greer-Hansen method of assembly, that is, the assumption that assembly of slum land by wholesale purchase with federal aid is the necessary preliminary step to redevelopment. Straus is opposed to what he terms the "bailing out" of slum owners because it is unfair to the public, causes immediate hardship for slum dwellers, and contributes nothing towards the elimination of slums.

It violates justice to compensate slum owners for the loss of profits arising out of illegal or harmful use. "A dealer in putrid meat is fined and sometimes jailed," but a dealer in rotten houses demands reward instead of retribution⁴³. And the public loses in every way, both as tenant and taxpayer. Razing slums as the first step towards rebuilding results immediately in hardship for slum families who are displaced at least during the period of demolition and construction. But Straus suggests that the displacement may become permanent due to the inability of a project to pay its way on the basis of rents slum dwellers can normally afford. More serious even than that, however is Straus' charge that a program of immediate slum clearance will not eliminate the underlying cause of slums, namely "the lack of healthful housing within the means of families that live in the slums". Thus Straus' own solution is inherent in his criticism. The first step towards slum clearance and redevelopment should be taken, not in the slums, but on vacant peripheral land. If sufficient low-rental dwellings are built, slum dwellers will have alternative accommodation, they will move out of blighted areas, local authorities will not hesitate to enforce safety and health regulations, slums will become less profitable, land values will fall and the costs of acquisition, as a final consequence, will be sharply

⁴³ Straus reports that during the course of carrying out the program of the United States Housing Authority he was continually pressed by the organized arms of the slum owners—Real Estate Boards, etc.—to pursue a policy which would involve buying up the slums at inflated prices.—op. cit.—Nathan Straus: *Seven Myths of Housing*, 1945—p. 61 and 73.

reduced. The difference between the two approaches in question, then, comes down to a matter of timing.

Before attempting to evaluate Straus' criticisms it must first be acknowledged that Greer and Hansen have not been totally oblivious to the dangers of immediate slum clearance with federal aid. In their common statement of 1941, probably one of the targets of Straus' attack, they recognized the possibility of abuse and overpayment. In 1944, Hansen, in a joint work with Harvey S. Perloff, was more specific about the precautions which should be taken to reduce prices before acquisition. Federal slum clearance grants should be conditional upon proof that the cost of property has not been increased:

- a) by reason of the prospective public works and utilities shown upon the master-, district-, or project-area plans or
- b) by reason of the prospective assembly of the land in the project area in which the property is located or
- c) by the capitalization of earnings arising from failure to comply with the structural and sanitary standards specified in the state or local legislation regulating such buildings⁴⁴.

These measures, if enforced, would wipe out all unjustified value except that arising out of the long-term overestimation of potential use, that is, the speculative value with which we have been preoccupied in this study. Straus' objections, then, are answered only in part.

EVALUATION AND SOME CONCLUSIONS

Study of the two approaches to land assembly under consideration strongly suggests that neither is of a nature which can be criticized or discarded *in toto*. Each contains a criticism and a contribution that sticks. Straus may say to Greer and Hansen: If slum land is acquired and cleared without first increasing the supply of low-rental housing, not only will the public pay exorbitant prices for the land, but blight, far from being alleviated, will spread as those displaced from decongested areas crowd into whatever accommodation remains. And Greer or Hansen may say to Straus: A policy of building on vacant peripheral land, without at the same time having a program for the redevelopment of blighted areas,

⁴⁴—op. cit.—A. H. Hansen and Harvey S. Perloff: *State and Local Finance in the National Economy*, 1944—p. 116, 117.

In the first two conditions a) and b), Hansen anticipated certain provisions of the *British Town and Country Planning Act, 1947*. We refer to the provisions for taxing away the unearned increment arising from the expectation of redevelopment or from the improvement itself. *Planning and Reconstruction*. "Statements of Government and Public Bodies—Ministry of Town and Country Planning." Todd Reference Books Ltd., London and New York, 1948—p. 139. For evolution of British town planning legislation see Harold Spence-Sales, "British Town Planning," *Planning*, A.S.P.O. 1947, p. 73-80. See G. M. Young: *Country and Town*, Scott and Uthwatt Reports—p. 93-106.

by causing a drain on the population and taxable values of inner areas and increasing over-all urban costs for necessary services will intensify the evils of blight.

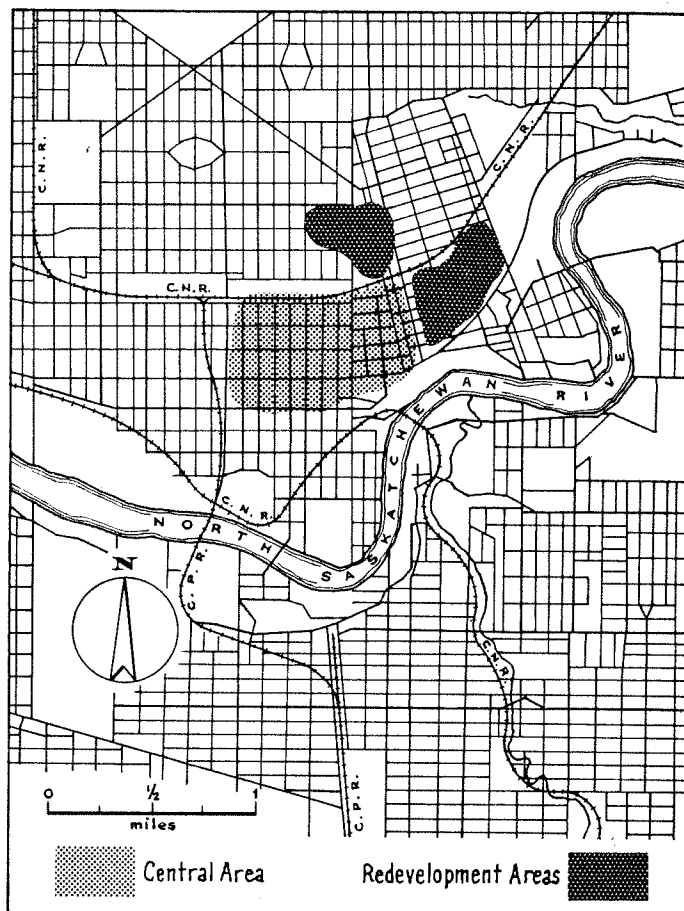
When all has been said, however, the value of the two emphases remains. Either course stubbornly pursued as an end in itself may be deadly, but combined they suggest a workable solution. Blighted areas must be cleared, and more low-rental housing is required. If both these elements come to be accepted as parts of an integrated program for restoring our cities to social and economic health, the question of timing—which comes first?—becomes rather academic. Starting from either premise the result is the same. A plan to construct low-rental housing on the outskirts of a city, say near a large factory, will require a consideration of the market for such housing, which leads back to the blighted areas, the home of a large proportion of low-income industrial workers. And a plan to clear a large blighted site at a lower density leads out to the suburbs, where alone there is cheap vacant land to absorb the surplus population.

It appears, then, that if one approaches the problem of land assembly broadly and dynamically it is possible to synthesize what appear to be opposing viewpoints into one integrated whole. This broad and dynamic conception is the indispensable requirement. If the terms of reference embrace the whole urban problem, seeing the relationship between rebuilding and new building, it becomes possible to visualize that over a period of time a loss suffered in one section may be offset by a gain in another. The decline in land values in one central area due to some planned change in use, for example from high density tenement to less crowded low rental, may be offset by the greater stability of values in adjacent lands due to the removal of the blight danger, and by the enhancement of values in the suburbs where people from the congested area settle down into planned neighbourhoods. For the community to fully benefit from these compensatory advantages, however, two local innovations—one fiscal, one political—are necessary. First, local municipalities should adapt fiscal policy to the economic facts, recognizing the different degrees of ability to pay of different types of use, and willing, in the interest of long-term recovery, to give up taxes in one area, say as a local contribution to making low-rental housing possible, in exchange for the enhanced taxpaying ability to be established in the area as a whole. Secondly, to avoid a situation in which one set of municipalities in a given urban area reap most of the losses and another set most of the gains of comprehensive redevelopment, political and economic boundaries should be unified.

THE BARRIER OF POVERTY

In an ultimate sense, the most fundamental economic barrier to redevelopment is poverty. Land costs in blighted areas are said to be high because incomes of prospective occupants cannot cover the costs of acquisition and the

EDMONTON: Région centrale et zones de modification projetées. (D'après "A Report on the City of Edmonton" par MM. John Bland et Harold Spence-Sales, 1949.)



EDMONTON: Central Area and suggested Redevelopment Areas. (Based on *A Report on the City of Edmonton* by John Bland and Harold Spence-Sales, 1949.)

costs of other living essentials as well. "Poverty" is used here in this strictly relative sense. Incomes are considered in relation to contemporary standards of living and contemporary costs of shelter.

There are three crucial costs which bear upon the economic feasibility of redevelopment for residential purposes—the cost of the land, the cost of construction, and the annual cost of housing or rent⁴⁵. For purposes of illustration let us consider the case of a publicly sponsored redevelopment housing project to be inhabited by a group of wage-earner families from the lowest income third. In Canada today such a group could afford to

⁴⁵Economic rent consists of four main items: 1) interest and amortization, 2) operation and upkeep including repairs and replacements, 3) local taxes, 4) cost of utilities (water, cooking-fuel, heat, light, etc.)

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF URBAN REDEVELOPMENT

REGENT-PARK: la démolition et la reconstruction vont de pair dans l'entreprise municipale de logement, à Toronto; c'est là la première entreprise importante de remise en valeur qui bénéficie de la loi nationale sur l'habitation



REGENT PARK: Demolition and rebuilding proceed together in Toronto Housing Authority project, first major redevelopment undertaking aided by National Housing Act

Photo N.F.B.

pay an average rental of \$18 a month or \$216 a year⁴⁶. This is the annual sum per family dwelling unit which is available to cover operation and maintenance, capital charges, and the cost of land plus demolition. Current costs of operation and upkeep for a large-scale project in this country would be something in the neighbourhood of \$180—assuming substantial savings on utilities through bulk purchases, and on janitors' services through voluntary work by tenants⁴⁷. This includes heating and hot water expenses, insurance, water rates and an allowance for repairs. Thus \$180 from \$216 leaves \$36 per dwelling unit to cover the remaining annual costs. Assuming

⁴⁶In 1941 this group could afford an average of \$12 a month, on the premise that rent must not exceed 1/5 of income. Assuming a 50% improvement in living standards since that date, \$18 per month is the appropriate rental at present.—op. cit.—*Housing and Community Planning*—p. 113.—*The Canada Year Book, 1948-49*—p. 31.

liberal financial terms, capital costs plus taxes⁴⁸ might be expressed as follows:

<i>Interest</i>	2.75% on 90% or	2.47%
	4.50% on 10% or	.45%
<i>Amortization</i> —50 years or	1.7% on 100%=	1.7 %
<i>Taxes</i>	1.5% on 100%=	1.5 %
		<hr/> 6.12%

Capitalizing at 6.12% the \$36 available for these charges yields \$588, which represents the total investment per dwelling unit that can be made economically in this particular case. It is quite clear that a redevelopment housing authority could not go very far with this amount in meeting costs of construction, demolition and land. Thus, a low-income housing project whether it is on central or outlying land is possible only on the condition that the gap between costs and income is closed by annual public subsidies. The same can be demonstrated to be true for a project consisting of units with an average dwelling facilities cost of not less than \$5,000, which is inhabited by families with an average annual income of \$2,000—the approximate average wage of urban tenant families today⁴⁹.

OVERCOMING THE BARRIER OF POVERTY

While the limitations imposed on redevelopment by present income-cost relationships are real enough, no income or cost in this economically volatile world can be regarded as fixed. An investigation of the income side of the problem may suggest that a basic solution will be found either in a higher national income, or a more equitable distribution of present income. But those are long-term propositions involving perhaps far-reaching social changes which housing and redevelopment cannot wait for.

A more practical point of attack would seem to be on the cost side of the problem. Analysis of the building industry is not within the scope of this study, but certain glaring faults related to high costs must be recognized. Walter Gropius has aptly remarked that "The cost of building had doubled, but the cost of a Ford car

⁴⁷Op. cit.—Straus—for American experience.

—In a private suburban rental project near Montreal the average cost of operation and upkeep for 738 units comes to approximately \$240. This includes full costs of 15 janitors, a reserve for rental shrinkage and a 5% vacancy allowance, *Moderate Rental Housing Project For Montreal Metropolitan District*. The Montreal Housing Corporation, Spring, 1947. Percy E. Nobbs suggested \$115 a year for a large-scale low-rental project, Percy E. Nobbs: *Report on Housing and Slum Clearance in Designated Areas*. March 5, 1945—p. 12.

⁴⁸See—"For Canadian Low-Rental Housing," *Layout For Living*, September, 1949. CPAC—p. 2, 3—op. cit.—Straus—p. 194, 195.

⁴⁹Op. cit.—L. C. Marsh, "The Economics of Low-Rent Housing"—p. 27.

had been cut in half⁵⁰." While in the general field of manufacturing, specialization brought efficiency to production, in the field of housing it split the home building operation into hundreds of poorly integrated operations⁵¹. Thus further rationalization is one of the major pre-conditions to lower housing costs. Yet this too will take time; an even more direct and speedy approach is required.

CANADIAN LEGISLATION

Low-rental housing, it has been demonstrated, is a necessity which arises inevitably out of the redevelopment operation; and it is a necessity which it is difficult to satisfy because costs of land, costs of building, annual costs of financing and operation and upkeep are too high for families who can afford but \$18 to \$40 a month for rent. It is of interest, therefore, to discover what provision Canadian legislation makes for carrying through this final, critical step in the redevelopment process.

For the first time in the country's history there appears to be a plan that seriously addresses itself to the task of meeting the housing needs of low-income groups. The new measure is an improvement on former methods because it makes specific provision for financial assistance where that assistance is needed most, namely in building the houses and paying the rent. The following are the features which apply to redevelopment:

Construction of houses by a partnership of Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation and the province in question, to be made available to low-income families.

Annual rental subsidies equal to the amount "by which rentals received are less than operating costs of all kinds, including depreciation". Operating losses will be met each year 75 per cent by the Dominion and 25 per cent by the province⁵².

Ownership of the housing projects will be shared jointly by the federal government and the province. Management will be in the hands of a local housing authority. The program will be put into effect on the basis of an agreement between the federal government and the province; the municipalities will enter into the picture by means of separate arrangements with the provinces.

At this point a crucial question arises; does the Canadian legislation provide a means of overcoming the barrier of land acquisition and shelter costs? And, conversely, does it make possible the widespread reconstruction of Canadian blighted areas? An unqualified affirmative answer cannot be given to these questions. In the first place, the Act already contained a provision ostensibly to encourage municipal slum clearance for

REGENT-PARK: *L'une des maisons démolies en vertu du programme de reconstruction appliqué grâce à l'assistance des autorités municipales, provinciales et fédérales (Voir: extrémité est de la région de remise en valeur, sur la carte à la page 45)*



REGENT PARK: One of houses demolished under scheme of rebuilding with local, provincial and federal public aid; location is in easternmost redevelopment area in map on page 45

Photo Turofsky

private redevelopment (Section 12)⁵³. However the only consequential use of this Section has been made by the Toronto Housing Authority for the redevelopment of Regent Park. Whether land acquisition and clearance costs for future public housing will be paid off at the outset by invoking this Section, or carried in the financial agreement along with construction and operating costs over the life of the housing under Section 35 is not yet clear. Secondly, the new amendment is limited in its possible beneficial effects by the requirement that the

⁵³Section 12, subsection 2 b) says that "(2) A grant shall be made under this section only if b) the land is sold by the municipality to a limited dividend corporation or a life insurance company which has agreed to construct thereon a rental housing project under the provisions of section nine or section eleven. . . ." Op. cit.—*The National Housing Act, 1944, 1948*—p. 26.

This provision predetermines the use of the cleared land in a manner which may not be consistent with the official plan.

⁵⁰Op. cit.—Walter Gropuis—p. 30.

⁵¹*American Housing*—Twentieth Century Fund.

⁵²*House of Commons Debates*, Official Report. November 15, 1949—pp. 1769-1773 and 1792-1797.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF URBAN REDEVELOPMENT

province, by specific agreement for each project commit itself to underwriting up to 25% of the losses of public housing projects. If the Canadian provinces were more or less equal in their capacity to meet such losses there would be nothing objectionable about this feature of the amendment. The fact is, however, that they are not; regional disparities in income persist⁵⁴. Already the Government of Saskatchewan has raised doubt as to its ability to take advantage of the new provisions⁵⁵. The danger exists that the recent housing amendment will accentuate disparities in housing conditions. "For the first time we are asked to accept the proposition that housing is a social as well as an economic problem", Mr. David Croll has admirably declared. But unless this principle is applied throughout the country, its operation through the present amendment will violate an important related principle which has earned wide acceptance ever since the Rowell-Sirois report of 1937, namely that an

average national standard of social services be aspired to. And, what is most serious of all, the essential nation-wide job of urban redevelopment may not be done.

The foregoing discussion of Canadian redevelopment activity and of legislation pertaining to it, has helped to bring the essentials of redevelopment into sharper focus. To carry a project through from the stage of demolition and clearing to the building of new houses requires assistance for two critical purposes—to close the gap between the cost of acquisition and clearing, and the resale or leasing price of the land, and to close the gap between the annual cost of housing and the rents which prospective tenants can afford to pay. It is the opinion of the writer that the present Canadian legislation for redevelopment and public housing just falls short of meeting these necessities. But it has not far to go towards their attainment. A more straightforward and simple law which provided central government loans for acquisition, clearance and construction, and central government subsidies to meet annual deficits would cost the Canadian government only slightly more than it is offering to spend under the National Housing Act as it now stands. Against this cost must be posed the incalculable economic and social benefits derived from the gradual elimination of urban blight.

⁵⁴ The value of per capita production during 1946 in each province was as follows:

Prince Edward Island \$338, Nova Scotia \$323, New Brunswick \$337, Ontario \$624, Quebec \$492, Manitoba \$452, Saskatchewan \$473, Alberta \$534, British Columbia \$590.

The Canada Year Book, 1948-49. Ottawa, 1949—p. 1099, 1100.

⁵⁵ Op. cit.—*House of Commons Debates*, November 29, 1949—p. 244.



REGENT PARK: Earliest of new units occupied in Canada's only substantial redevelopment scheme to date—but see page 70 of this Review

Photo N.F.B.

REGENT-PARK: Les premières nouvelles unités de logement habitées. Il s'agit ici de la première entreprise importante de remise en valeur effectuée au Canada jusqu'ici

We publish this translation of an address by the President of the Regional Plan Association of New York with his permission. The original version was given to the 1950 meeting of the American Institute of Architects in Washington, and appeared in Town and Country Planning last September. The translator is on the staff of the National Capital Planning Service in Ottawa. The posing of alternative metropolitan settlement patterns is especially timely in Canada, in view of the phenomenal rate of growth of our larger cities. The illustrations are chosen by the Review.

QUELLES FORMES PRENDront NOS GRANDES VILLES?

par Paul Windels

L'EXPANSION rapide des villes américaines est un des grands drames de notre histoire. En 1790, 5 pour cent de la population vivait dans les villes. Thomas Jefferson, qui avait connu l'état dans lequel se trouvaient les villes européennes, ne voulait pas revoir ces mêmes expériences se répéter aux Etats-Unis dont il désirait plutôt faire un pays agricole. Mais le temps et la destinée allaient en décider autrement.

Vers 1800, des vagues de population venant des centres ruraux et des pays européens envahirent les villes en nombre toujours grandissant. Depuis 1900, ces flots d'immigrés ont même débordé les cadres des villes pour se répandre dans les territoires avoisinants et contribuer à créer une forme urbaine nouvelle qu'on appela alors région métropolitaine. La moitié de notre population habite aujourd'hui dans 140 de ces régions.

LA FORME URBAINE CHANGE

Depuis plusieurs années, les banlieues ont connu une augmentation de population beaucoup plus rapide que celle des cités-centres. Entre 1940 et 1947, les 13 plus grandes villes du pays ont augmenté de 10.6 pour cent, tandis que leurs banlieues augmentaient à peu près du double, soit 19.2 pour cent. L'expérience nous montre que cette différence continue d'exister de nos jours et semble même vouloir s'accroître. Dans les banlieues de 12 régions métropolitaines on compte près de 60 pour cent de la construction des maisons d'habitation. La surface bâtie de la région de New York a doublé depuis 1925 et aura probablement encore doublé vers 1975.

Les exigences des temps modernes ont rendu désuets les tracés des vieilles villes. Celles-ci ne répondent plus à l'ordre social qu'impose notre civilisation. Les besoins nouveaux qu'apportent les accroissements incessants de la population, du commerce, de l'industrie et de la circulation motorisée les ont rendues exigües. Il en est alors résulté: un entassement intolérable de population, d'édifices et de véhicules; des rues et des routes grossièrement inadéquates; un état de malaise et d'inefficacité; des retards et de la poussière, du bruit et de la confusion.

traduit de l'anglais par Benoît Bégin

Note du Traducteur: Eveillés par les expériences profondes de centralisation et de développement intense qui transforment actuellement les grandes villes canadiennes, et principalement Montréal, la métropole, nous nous demandons s'il ne serait pas à propos, plus que jamais, de reproduire, en français, pour notre population et nos dirigeants, le message si significatif d'avertissement que donnait Monsieur Windels, président du *Regional Plan Association of New York*. Parlant, à Washington, devant une réunion des membres de l'*American Institute of Architects* Monsieur Windels rappela les conditions où en sont rendues les grandes cités américaines et les nécessités économiques, sociales et stratégiques que celles-ci réalisent maintenant de procéder à leur expansion et développement en conformité d'un plan général de décentralisation. Serons-nous prêts à accepter ce message?

Deux autres facteurs vont modifier l'aspect futur de nos villes.

Premièrement: l'accroissement incessant des budgets municipaux. En général, le coût de l'administration municipale per caput, dans les grandes cités, est à peu près le double de celui des villes de 25,000 à 100,000 âmes.

Pour remédier aux conditions défavorables sociales ou autres qu'engendrent les grandes cités, il faut donner en moyenne par personne une proportion plus grande de services municipaux. Plusieurs de ces conditions résultent directement de l'encombrement et exigent, par conséquent, des dépenses municipales plus grandes.

Certains administrateurs municipaux sont d'avis qu'une façon d'arriver à équilibrer ces lourds budgets, serait de favoriser la construction d'édifices en hauteur afin d'obtenir des taxes plus élevées. Mais alors comment arriver à surmonter le coût toujours croissant de l'administration municipale si on intensifie les conditions même qui favorisent la montée de ces coûts? Si, par des mesures ordonnées de décentralisation, nous ne trouvons pas un moyen efficace de les contrôler graduellement, nous verrons alors se produire une décentralisation non dirigée et un fort gaspillage de capitaux publics et privés. Voilà une idée qui devrait faire réfléchir ceux qui croient qu'il y a sans cesse des possibilités de spéculation lucrative dans l'accroissement de la congestion au centre de nos villes.

QUELLES FORMES PRENDRONT NOS GRANDES VILLES ?

Deuxièmement: des mesures de défense nationale, imposées par la menace de bombardements atomiques. Lorsque des mesures de défense auront été formulées, elles exerceront sans doute une forte pression de décentralisation. Et quand nous en serons arrivés à exploiter l'énergie atomique pour des fins industrielles, il est indubitable que nous reconnaitrons, comme plus pressantes, les nécessités de décentralisation.

FORMES URBAINES NOUVELLES

Quelles formes nouvelles prendront les régions métropolitaines sous l'influence des facteurs nouveaux qu'on rencontre aujourd'hui? En 1925, 98 pour cent des résidences de la région de New York étaient localisées à moins d'un mille d'une gare de chemin de fer. Une carte de la région montrait un développement urbain qui ressemblait à une étoile dont les pointes suivaient les lignes des chemins de fer, et radiaient du centre métropolitain. Mais avec l'établissement des circuits d'autobus et d'un réseau régional de routes, l'étoile se transforma pour prendre la forme d'un cercle à surface totalement remplie. C'est un phénomène typique de la plupart des régions métropolitaines.

Par la suite, cette expansion se traduit par l'envahissement, sur les territoires urbains avoisinants, d'une masse

continue de constructions, semblable à la lave d'un volcan en éruption. Poussées par les puissantes forces de progrès techniques et de pressions économiques, les régions métropolitaines nouvelles se développent avec une rapidité étonnante, mais au hasard, malheureusement. Dans trop de cas les anciens tracés urbains ont été prolongés et employés de nouveau pour former, avec les nouvelles expansions, une région urbaine contiguë. Si ces tendances ou modes de développements sans directive ou contrôle sont tolérés plus longtemps, il en résultera invariablement des régions métropolitaines de formes circulaires, ayant 25 et même 50 milles de diamètre.

PROGRAMME POUR LES CITES-CENTRES

Il semble évident que le problème le plus important à résoudre est celui de l'encombrement. L'objectif principal de tous nouveaux tracés devrait être celui de prévoir à l'aération du centre des cités encombrées, afin de permettre au soleil, à l'air pur d'y pénétrer et, aussi, afin de faciliter le mouvement libre des piétons et des véhicules. Nous devons également tendre à appliquer le principe de l'unité de voisinage dans les cités-centres aussi bien que dans les communautés urbaines avoisinantes, tout en essayant de conserver à chacune son identité particulière.

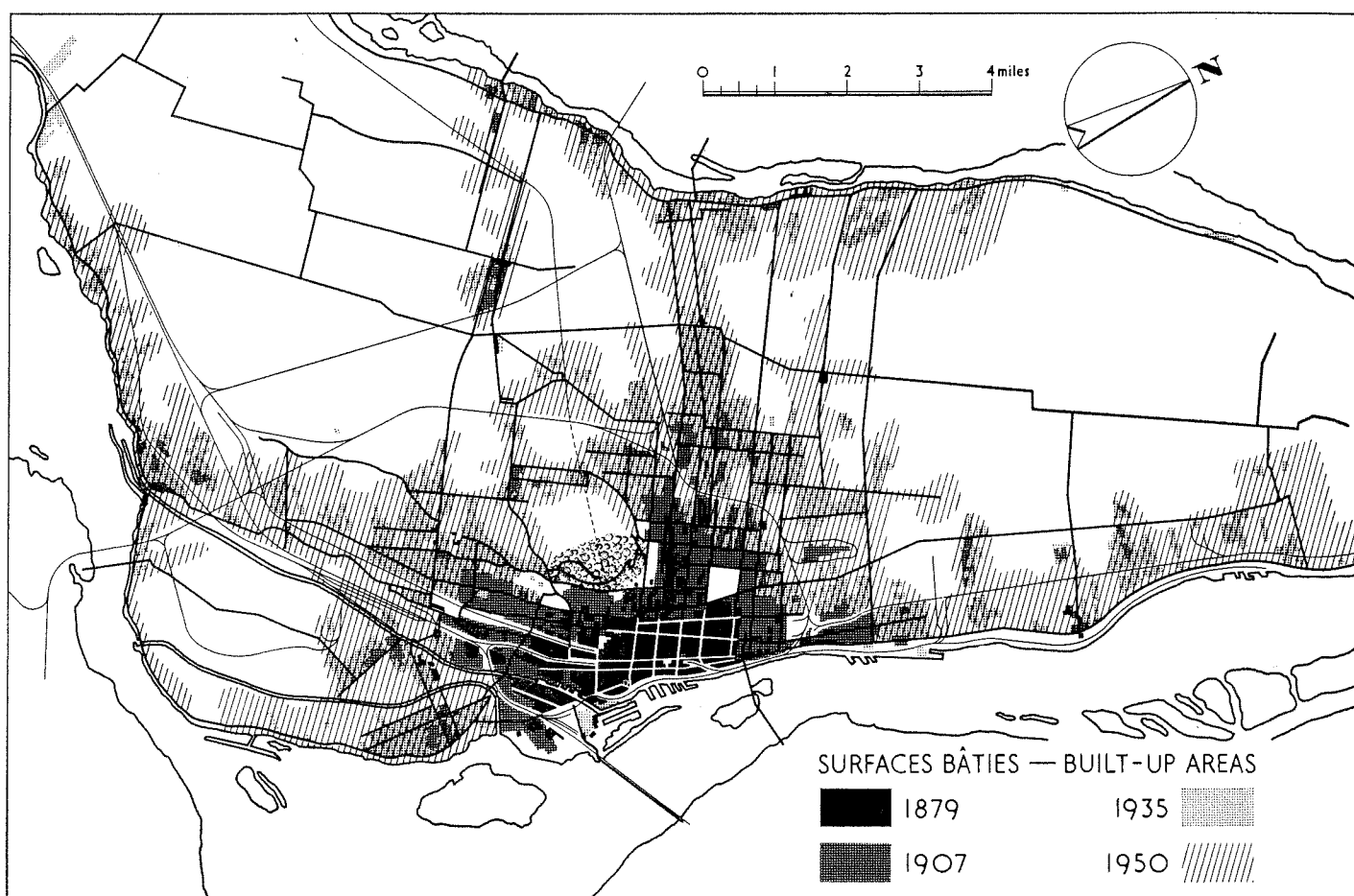
En somme, pourquoi devons-nous tendre à établir

L'expansion de Montréal en aval du canal Lachine

Montreal's spread downstream from the Lachine Canal

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*L'expansion de Montréal vers l'extérieur depuis 70 ans
(Courtoisie du Service municipal d'urbanisme et de la Commission métropolitaine de Montréal)*

Outward sprawl of Montreal in past seventy years (Courtesy Montreal Metropolitan Commission and City Planning Department)

cette structure? Simplement parce que nous savons que pour créer une vie normale et saine, partagée avec dignité et responsabilité par les individus, il est nécessaire que la vie communautaire soit à l'échelle humaine. La vie anonyme créée dans les grandes cités cause les problèmes humains, sociaux et politiques qui nous affligent, ainsi que l'individualisme généralisé des masses.

Les îlots insalubres des villes-centres devraient être rebâti en prévoyant une distribution plus équitable des habitations, une densité plus basse de population, et des unités de voisinage bordées par de larges avenues servant d'accès principal à la circulation. Ces unités de voisinage devraient être pourvues de son propre réseau de rues, d'écoles, de terrains de jeux, de centres commerciaux, de terrains de stationnement, de postes d'essence et d'édifices publics et communautaires, ainsi que de tout autre aménité propre à l'unité de voisinage, comme si chacune d'elles formait à l'intérieur de la cité, un village séparé, ayant son identité distincte, ses intérêts propres et sa vie sociale particulière.

Dans certaines de nos soi-disantes cités-jardins, les projets d'habitation ne comprennent que des maisons

élevées, sans caractère, d'apparence standardisée, où se rencontre le plus souvent une forte densité de population, et où s'exerce quelquefois une ségrégation parmi les différentes catégories de revenus et parfois même parmi les groupes d'âges. Ces projets d'habitation, sous plusieurs aspects, sont des améliorations notables sur les structures qu'ils remplacent, mais sont loin de satisfaire d'une façon adéquate aux besoins actuels. Nous devons avoir des plans plus ambitieux et procéder à l'aménagement d'unités de voisinage qui comprendraient différents types de maisons à 1, 2 ou 3 étages, bien espacées, et pouvant aussi accommoder des familles ayant des enfants en bas âge.

PROGRAMME DE REALISATION POUR LES BANLIEUES

En ce qui concerne les banlieues, la *Regional Plan Association* a suggéré quelques principes qui pourraient être appliqués, s'ils ont quelque mérite, à chacune des régions métropolitaines du pays, en voie d'expansion. Les programmes que nous avons formulés pour les 17 comtés avoisinant la cité de New York, afin d'enrayer l'expansion désorganisée des cités de cette région qui, au cours de leur croissance absorbent les petites villes se trouvant

QUELLES FORMES PRENDRONT NOS GRANDES VILLES ?

à leur périphérie, sont: (1) la préservation de l'identité et du caractère particulier de chacune de ces villes de moindre importance; (2) la répartition d'une plus large partie de l'expansion régionale dans un plus grand nombre de centres; (3) la création et l'aménagement de communautés nouvelles se suffisant à elles-mêmes et pouvant absorber une part substantielle de l'expansion régionale.

ETAPES PRELIMINAIRES AU REALISATION

Ainsi, entre l'alternative d'une cité-centre à expansion continue—tendance actuelle résultant du manque de contrôle—et celle des villes ou villages satellites aménagés et contrôlés dans les déplacements de leurs populations, nous croyons la dernière alternative infiniment plus désirable. Il est à noter que cette proposition est essentiellement la même que celle recommandée pour les différentes unités de voisinage de la cité-centre.

Cela n'est pas de l'utopie. Les Américains savent très bien obtenir ce qu'ils désirent, quand ils sont persuadés que les buts qu'ils poursuivent en valent la peine. Et ne sous-estimons jamais la portée de l'effort du citoyen, sa force éducative et l'influence qu'il peut exercer sur l'élaboration et la réalisation des programmes des autorités dirigeantes. Le plan régional de la ville de New York et de ses environs, prévoyant un programme d'aménagement pour le réseau routier, les boulevards de promenade, l'aéroport et les parcs, fut préparé, il y a 20 ans, par un groupe de citoyens, à l'aide de fonds privés. Plus de la moitié des projets de ce plan a déjà été complété et même avant le temps prévu. Pratiquement tous pro-

jets de travaux publics touchant les routes et parcs entrepris dans la région depuis cette date ont suivi les recommandations indiquées par le plan du groupe de citoyens.

Il serait théoriquement possible, au cours du siècle à venir, de créer une Amérique urbaine entièrement neuve, si, comme Nation, nous étions déterminés à le faire. Nous avons construit, au cours des 5 dernières années, assez de maisons et d'édifices pour fins commerciales et industrielles, pour accommoder 1/10 de la population actuelle du pays—l'équivalent de 35 cités de 100,000 de population, pour chacune des 5 dernières années.

Comme peuple pratique, cependant, nous reconnaissons que nous ne pouvons pas rejeter complètement tout ce que nous possédons. Comme d'ailleurs nous ne pouvons pas plus nous attendre, dans un avenir rapproché, à voir se développer des cités verticales ou linéaires le long de nouvelles artères de circulation. Le mieux que nous puissions faire présentement, c'est d'accepter les tracés qui se développent spontanément, et essayer de les orienter avec cohérence et intelligence. En agissant ainsi, il ne faudrait jamais perdre de vue la vérité pourtant simple, mais fondamentale, que les villes sont formées d'individus et de familles, et que si nous manquons à la tâche de leur procurer les amenities nécessitées par leurs besoins véritables, nous conduirons notre civilisation urbaine à la perte de sa vitalité.

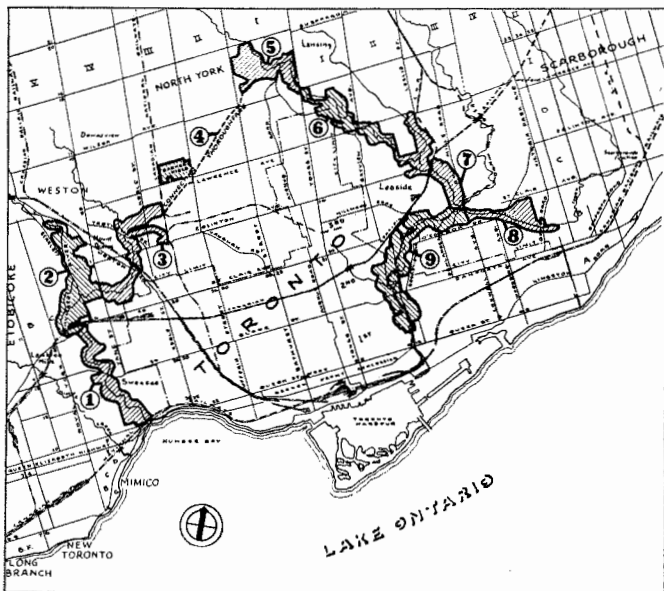
PREMIERE ETAPE: L'EDUCATION DES CITOYENS

De quelle façon ces projets peuvent-ils être réalisés? D'abord en stimulant l'intérêt et la compréhension chez les citoyens, par un programme d'éducation. Il faudrait, par exemple, vulgariser la connaissance des principes de base par la tenue de forums de discussion, car il ne faut pas espérer des résultats satisfaisants, sans qu'au préalable, le public ait pris connaissance des grandes lignes du problème urbain et ait formulé ses opinions pour, ensuite, susciter la mise en oeuvre des programmes de redressement.

En Angleterre, on a vu que des programmes nationaux de modernisation des tracés de ville, pourtant proposés pendant plusieurs années par les autorités municipales et professionnelles, furent adoptés en temps record quand, pendant la guerre, les maisons étaient détruites au rythme d'une à la minute. Une bombe atomique projetée sur une de nos grandes cités changerait d'une façon irrévocable, à ce moment tragique, le futur de toutes nos grandes cités. Alors pourquoi faut-il attendre, pour entreprendre la mise en oeuvre de cette politique, qu'on y soit forcé par le désastre? Nous devons plutôt, avec persistance, continuer d'attirer l'attention des masses sur les problèmes réels de nos cités, tâche certainement difficile, mais non impossible.

A cette fin, nous devons grouper tous les organismes qui travaillent au bien-être général, et les amener à promouvoir l'aménagement de nos métropoles. Ce mouvement concerté d'organisations populaires devrait être

La ceinture verte intérieure proposée pour Toronto (Rapport de 1944 de la Commission municipale d'urbanisme)



Proposed inner Green Belt for Toronto (City Planning Board Report, 1944)

encouragé partout où il n'existe pas déjà. Une grande partie des progrès réalisés par les gouvernements ont souvent été d'inspiration provenant de certains de ces groupes organisés, et lorsqu'il s'agit de l'aménagement des régions métropolitaines, ce facteur d'influence ne devrait pas faire exception.

DEUXIEME ETAPE: RECHERCHES

Aucun pays n'alloue à la recherche une aussi grande part de son budget que les Etats-Unis. Les grands problèmes de la défense nationale, de la conservation des ressources naturelles, de l'amélioration des méthodes d'agriculture, du développement des réseaux de communications et de nouveaux procédés industriels et commerciaux, font l'objet de recherches et de formulation de programmes tant par des organisations publiques que privées. Les Associations Nationales de bienfaisance contribuent aussi largement, par leurs dons, au développement des sciences physiques, médicales et sociales.

Il semble assez étrange, cependant, que des recherches, pourtant si essentielles, visant à déterminer des modalités de vie urbaine agréable et satisfaisante, n'aient pas encore été l'objet d'une plus grande attention.



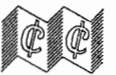



Une commission nationale d'enquête sur la répartition des populations devrait être établie pour étudier, faire rapport, et indiquer les recommandations nécessaires concernant les mouvements des populations à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur des villes. Basés sur de telles informations et recommandations, nous devrions alors être capables de formuler des politiques d'aménagement à longue portée, permettant de guider l'évolution des villes désuètes et enchevêtrées du siècle passé, pour en faire des régions métropolitaines aménagées à l'échelle du temps.

TROISIEME ETAPE: LEGISLATION DES ETATS

Au fur et à mesure que les régions métropolitaines s'intégreront dans un plan d'ensemble, il est inévitable que de nouveaux organismes gouvernementaux deviendront nécessaires et devront être créés pour répondre aux besoins naissants. Quelques-uns de ces organismes ont déjà été fondés. Le "The Port of New York Authority" et le "St. Louis Bi-State Development Agency" en sont des exemples frappants, et il s'en trouve d'autres au pays.

Avec l'aide de lois appropriées, il serait temps que nous commencions à tenter l'expérience de l'établissement de zones métropolitaines, basées sur les limites des districts de recensement. Ces derniers sont des régions comptant une population de 100,000 âmes au moins, au centre duquel on rencontre une cité de 50,000 de population et plus. Des organismes officiels relevant des Etats devraient être établis dans chacune de ces zones métropolitaines pour co-ordonner, avec l'autorité nécessaire, les plans d'aménagement, de zonage, de lotissement, et pour distribuer les projets de travaux publics. Afin d'éviter toute hostilité de la part du corps administratif local, ces nouveaux organismes devraient d'abord être appelés à servir comme conseillers-techniques.

Ceux qui vivent dans une ville de population moyenne peuvent épargner du temps et de l'argent que d'autres doivent affecter aux voyages

CATÉGORIES DE VILLES CANADIENNES	PASSAGES	VALEURS DES INSTALLATIONS
MÉTROPOLES 500,000 - 1,500,000		
CITÉS IMPORTANTES 100,000 - 300,000		
VILLES MODIQUES 40,000 - 75,000		
BPS/ACU	CHACQUE SYMBOLE = 50 PASSAGES PAR PERSONNE EN 1946	\$10. DE VALEUR EN INSTAL- LATIONS PAR PERSONNE EN 1946

Living in a middle sized city, one can save some time and money that others must spend on streetcars

Dans la région de New York, il y a 22 comtés et au-delà de 500 unités administratives locales, chacune d'entre elles possédant des pouvoirs relatifs à l'utilisation du sol et au développement. C'est peut-être l'exemple d'une situation extrême, mais ces mêmes conditions semblent exister dans toutes les régions métropolitaines. La nécessité de coordonner les efforts d'aménagement, au niveau administratif, semble se révéler de plus en plus grande. Nous devrions aussi attacher plus d'importance à la contribution efficace que certaines entreprises de développement pourraient apporter dans la création de nouvelles cités. Certains Etats ont déjà créé des organismes connus sous le nom de Corporations du Redéveloppement Urbain, et qui ont été chargés de reconstruire les îlots insalubres du centre de certaines villes. Pourquoi alors ne pousserions-nous pas l'idée jusqu'à proposer la construction, par des corporations semblables, de nouvelles villes, tel que suggéré plus haut, pour absorber l'excédent de l'expansion des centres urbains déjà trop vastes? Ces organismes serviraient à coordonner et concilier les intérêts de l'industrie, du commerce, des entreprises de construction et des institutions financières. Ils serviraient également à intégrer dans un plan d'ensemble les projets de développement du gouvernement fédéral au lieu de les laisser, par un manque de coordination dans leur réalisation, augmenter l'encombrement dans les cités-centres, et favoriser l'expansion exagérée des territoires urbains.

QUATRIEME ETAPE: UNE POLITIQUE FEDERALE

Advenant une guerre, les dangers qu'encourraient nos villes seraient très grands, et l'hystérie ou l'apathie qui probablement en résulterait amènerait une situation critique qu'il faudrait absolument éviter. On sait, par contre, que l'espacement et la décentralisation sont des moyens efficaces que nous pouvons employer comme protection

contre les bombardements. Mais il est évident que nous ne pouvons pas démembrer soudainement nos villes et les rassembler en petites unités, car l'ébranlement que ressentirait l'économie aurait des effets mortels, même si cela s'avérait financièrement et physiquement possible. De toute façon, quels que soient les dangers qui nous confrontent, nous ne pouvons les éviter par des changements aussi radicaux.

Or, puisque ces changements ne peuvent s'accomplir à la hâte, nous devons au moins voir à ce que nos régions métropolitaines se développent de façon désirable. Il serait ainsi possible, avec les années, de multiplier les centres urbains en ramenant les plus grands à des grandeurs conformes et en réduisant, par le fait même, les chances de bombardements aériens et les dommages qui pourraient en découler. S'il existe aujourd'hui, dans nos programmes de défense nationale, des mesures prévoyant la décentralisation des villes, elles n'ont pas encore été révélées publiquement. Et comment pouvons-nous nous attendre à de telles mesures quand, en toute vérité, nous ne sommes pas encore arrivés à établir l'accord sur les principes de base?

La majeure partie des sommes allouées aux programmes de réarmement deviennent perdues si ces armements ne servent pas directement à la guerre. Par contre, les sommes versées à la décentralisation des villes, mesure aussi de défense, constituent, même en temps de paix, des versements servant à des fins utiles. Heureusement qu'il n'y a pas de divergence entre les politiques de défense à longue portée, concernant les grandes villes, et les programmes de réalisation que proposent les urbanistes en temps de paix. De part et d'autre, on vise au même but. Certaines politiques d'aménagement préconisées déjà par

Letchworth (Angleterre): Quelques minutes de marche et on se trouve dans les rues très affairées



Calm space in first Garden City of Letchworth, England—a few minutes walk from busy streets Photo Donald Brunt

des urbanistes et mises alors en doute par le scepticisme des traditionnalistes endurcis, sont maintenant reconnues et appliquées dans les programmes de défense nationale de nos cités. Ainsi, les ceintures de verdure que l'on recommande entre les différentes unités de voisinage et même entre les différentes villes, et qui furent déjà tant discutées, sont maintenant considérées comme des zones de protection essentielles qui pourraient servir de coupe-feu entre les différentes parties des agglomérations. Les experts militaires recommandent aussi fortement l'application de règlements de zonage aussi bien que des mesures prévenant l'encombrement.

Il y a peu de gens qui réalisent quel rôle important le gouvernement fédéral joue (exception faite des programmes de défense militaire) dans le développement des villes du pays. Pendant les 20 dernières années, ce dernier a exercé une influence considérable sur le caractère et la forme que prirent les villes dans leur expansion. Il a, par le fait même, endossé une grave responsabilité sur les effets cumulatifs qu'apporte la réalisation de ses programmes.

Ainsi, quelle politique devrait adopter le "Bureau of Public Roads" dans la distribution, l'an prochain, de près d'un demi billion de dollars, pour la construction de routes et de voies urbaines? Devrait-il permettre la construction de routes amenant une plus grande concentration urbaine, ou devrait-il plutôt favoriser le développement des banlieues? Ou encore, devrait-il préconiser la construction de routes éloignées ou au sein des centres résidentiels?

En outre, des billions de dollars provenant encore du fédéral ont été versés dans les villes pour l'habitation et contribuent, par le fait même, à la concentration des populations au coeur des cités-centres et encouragent la croissance amorphe des banlieues, au détriment même des programmes de défense nationale.

Enfin, heureusement, nous commençons à obtenir du gouvernement fédéral quelques ébauches d'une politique de rénovation urbaine, telles que l'indiquent certaines sections de la *National Housing Act* de 1949 qui stipulent "la mise en oeuvre de programmes positifs d'assistance et d'encouragement pour les projets de développement de quartiers de voisinage bien intégrés et aménagés, ainsi que ceux qui ont trait à l'ensemble d'une collectivité". Ces dispositifs de la loi exigent aussi, de la part de l'Administrateur, que le développement des communautés ou des problèmes de redéveloppement dans un Etat, région ou métropole, se fasse de façon conforme à un plan général établi pour la localité en question.

Comme début de politique, cela nous semble encourageant, mais quels en seront les résultats pratiques? Quelle sorte de plans généraux acceptera l'Administrateur: ceux qui perpétueront ou accroîtront les modes désuets de vie urbaine entassée, ou seulement ceux qui diminueront les conditions d'encombrement parmi les populations ouvrières?

Une politique d'urbanisme fédérale vaste et conforme apparaît nécessaire. Evidemment, sa fonction serait de voir à la réalisation des projets d'aménagement des localités tout en étant sujette aux modifications qu'apporteraient les nécessités de défense nationale. Nous avons le droit d'attendre une telle coopération de la part du gouvernement fédéral en tout ce qui concerne les routes, l'habitation, le redéveloppement urbain, les aéroports, les parcs nationaux, les hôpitaux ainsi que tous les autres projets relevant de son domaine.

RESUME DES RECOMMANDATIONS

1. Une politique d'urbanisme fédéral

Parce que nos villes sont devenues le centre nerveux de notre économie, leur fonctionnement efficace et leur protection contre les attaques sont d'importance capitale pour le pays. Nous ne devons jamais sous-estimer non plus l'influence énorme que le gouvernement fédéral exerce maintenant sur la façon dont nos villes se développent en leur donnant l'assistance dans des projets de redéveloppement d'habitation, de construction de routes et d'autres travaux publics, sans oublier l'aide aux sans-travail; l'acceptation de cette aide rend l'influence fédérale inévitable. Puisqu'il en est ainsi, pourquoi n'employerions-nous pas cette assistance à des fins conformes à nos objectifs?

Mais aujourd'hui, personne ne semble partager une même politique de base. Chaque département ou ministère du gouvernement fédéral impliqué dans la réalisation des programmes concernant les villes a sa ligne de conduite particulière et poursuit son propre programme tel que permis par les arêtes de son statut constitutionnel. Nous avons grandement besoin d'une politique de base et d'un programme défini; on manque à la fois d'une politique et d'un programme défini. Quelques-uns pratiquent une politique de décentralisation tandis que d'autres favorisent une plus grande concentration.

Cependant, nous ne devons pas jeter le blâme sur les organismes fédéraux pour cet état de chose, car il n'y a pas de leur faute, mais néanmoins, ils auraient dû s'en rendre compte et demander que des améliorations soient apportées.

Entre temps, une politique nationale de défense, concernant les formes et dimensions de nos villes—sujet d'importance capitale pour la sécurité nationale—reste encore à être définie, même si 5 années se sont déjà écoulées depuis la première explosion atomique, nous donnant une idée des dégâts qu'elle pourrait causer.

2. Lois du gouvernement de l'Etat

Que devons-nous faire pour mettre fin à cette confusion et à cette incertitude? Nous ne voulons pas, évidemment, que le gouvernement fédéral s'ingère dans l'aménagement de nos villes. Cela serait une obligation qui déborderait les cadres de ses prérogatives et l'amènerait inévitablement à être l'objet de jalousie et de rivalité de

La place du marché à Greenbelt (Maryland) se trouve entre la rue principale incurvée et un espace libre boisé (Voir le plan de la ville en page 69)



Shopping plaza for town of Greenbelt, Maryland, lies between curved main street and wooded open space; see town plan on page 69

Photo H.H.F.A.

la part des gouvernements des différentes localités. Les détails d'aménagement relèvent plutôt des autorités locales. Pour ce qui est des régions métropolitaines à économie intégrée, leur aménagement ne pourra s'effectuer que lorsque les Etats, dans leur législation, auront reconnu les besoins que créent leurs conditions actuelles. Les Etats devront créer des organismes officiels ayant un statut légal leur permettant de surveiller les intérêts économiques et généraux de ces régions. De tels organismes devraient pouvoir contribuer à amoindrir les rivalités qui existent au sein des petites unités administratives de ces régions. Les Etats devraient aussi reconnaître la nécessité de créer d'autres organismes officiels pouvant s'intéresser à la création de nouvelles villes qui pourraient absorber l'excédent de l'expansion de nos villes actuelles.

3. Recherches: une commission nationale

Une commission nationale d'enquête et de recommandations sur la répartition de la population urbaine devrait être créée pour venir en aide aux différents organismes locaux.

Dans la réalisation de leurs projets pour les régions métropolitaines, les organismes fédéraux travaillant en coopération, devraient aussi s'aider des recommandations proposées par cette commission. Cela n'exigera pas plus d'assistance, mais simplement l'emploi efficace des subsides fédéraux qui sont accordés de nos jours.

La tâche principale que devrait s'assigner toute unité administrative—fédérale, état, municipale—travaillant en harmonie, devrait être de fondre dans une même politique conforme les différentes théories de décentralisation afin que les régions métropolitaines du siècle futur ne se développent pas en répétant les erreurs des villes du siècle passé.

QUELLES FORMES PRENDRONT NOS GRANDES VILLES ?

CONCLUSION

A mi-chemin dans l'écoulement de ce siècle, nous sommes aussi rendus à un moment critique où l'on peut voir un conflit se déclencher parmi les grandes idéologies. De jour en jour nous vivons avec la peur qu'un incident inattendu nous conduise encore sur le chemin de la guerre qui, cette fois, pourrait bien mettre en danger la civilisation elle-même. Nous nous demandons si les connaissances que nous avons acquises n'auront pas uniquement contribué à nous apporter des déboires.

A tout événement, nous devons quand même continuer à progresser dans l'espoir qu'une autre voie s'ouvrira devant nous, et nous offrira un futur plus prometteur. Peut-être serait-ce une longue période de paix universelle, telles que celles qui ont suivi les guerres napoléoniennes, et celles de l'Empire Romain. Nous devons avoir confiance que les années à venir nous apporteront la liberté d'employer la science non pour la destruction, mais pour

nous aider à accomplir des progrès encore inespérés dans l'art de vivre ensemble—années au cours desquelles nous pourrions ériger des villes et des cités grandement supérieures à tout ce que nous avons connu jusqu'ici. Pour la réalisation de cet idéal élevé, une grande part des responsabilités nous revient, nous qui sommes chargés de conduire cette tâche à bien.

Enfin, nous devons apprendre à penser en termes de décennies et de générations. Nous devons avoir un sens de l'histoire pour remplir le rôle que nous avons à jouer dans l'orientation de l'évolution lente des modalités de vie urbaine. La plupart d'entre nous n'auront pas l'avantage de constater le parachèvement des oeuvres commencées, mais cependant, nous pourrions au moins connaître la satisfaction d'avoir contribué activement à la création de cités et villes fonctionnelles et agréables, et qui feront partie intégrante des régions métropolitaines du siècle à venir.

Dans la seconde cité-jardin de Welwyn (Angleterre), on a gardé des espaces libres dans le voisinage des quartiers industriels et d'habitation

Industrial and residential quarters are flanked by open country in second Garden City of Welwyn, England

Photoflights Ltd.



L'auteur est géographe à la division de la conservation, au ministère de l'Urbanisme et de la Mise en valeur, en Ontario. Il fait remarquer qu'à la campagne on apprécie le sol dans la mesure où il est fertile, tandis qu'à la ville, c'est en tant qu'il constitue un espace susceptible de servir à une fin particulière par rapport aux services qu'il peut rendre par ailleurs. Ces deux façons d'envisager l'usage qu'on peut faire du sol viennent en conflit dès qu'il s'agit des terrains non encore mis en valeur dans le voisinage des grandes villes; mentionnons, en outre, d'autres fins particulières auxquelles peuvent être affectés les terrains de périphérie: des terrains de golf, des habitations luxueuses, des cinémas en plein air. Ces divergences de vues créent des difficultés particulières à l'égard des approvisionnements d'eau. L'auteur croit que ceux qui ont pour fonction de conseiller les administrations municipales sur la ligne de conduite à adopter en vue d'assurer une expansion urbaine raisonnable, pourraient tirer avantage des plans de classement et de cartographie dont se servent les fonctionnaires qui s'occupent de conservation. Il est particulièrement recommandé d'étudier l'histoire locale, tant urbaine que rurale, avant d'adopter des décisions qui peuvent amener des changements considérables dans l'usage des terrains.

CLAIMS ON WATER AND LAND IN THE URBAN FRINGE

by Walter Creswick*

(All photos courtesy Conservation Branch, Ontario Department of Planning and Development)

RURAL land is generally assessed and classified in terms of its capability for agricultural production. Land use planning in rural areas is based on the productive function of the land. Settlements in agricultural areas are not usually specialized beyond the needs of an agricultural community.

Truly urban land, on the other hand, is assessed, classified and planned for in terms of its use-space relations—unfortunately with reduced regard for the inherent characteristics of the land, except insofar as those characteristics are of overwhelming importance for building sites or transportation routes.

There is nevertheless a direct relation between urban land use and the physical geography of the land it occupies. This relation is more easily seen as one approaches the fringe of a metropolis. On the fringe there is a particular kind of competition for use of land. This competition arises among three main classes of use. These are; first, *agricultural* use; second, *urban* use (residential, commercial, institutional and industrial); and third, *fringe* use: use of land for purposes peculiar to the borders of large cities, (public and private recreation, country estates, and a variety of uses of a special nature

—reservoirs, sewage disposal plants, drive-in theatres and enterprises along highway routes). This competition is reflected in fringe land valuations. This is a familiar matter and is, for the most part, beyond the scope of this paper.

Intensive agriculture, which nourishes the city, requires irrigation; small storage dams and steady stream flow in the hinterland are essential to the metropolis



L'irrigation est nécessaire à la culture intensive qui permet de nourrir la population urbaine, de même que sont nécessaires les petits barrages d'emmagasinement

* The author was born and educated in Ontario; in addition to serving in the Royal Canadian Corps of Signals and in Army Personnel Selection, he has done graduate work and teaching in a number of institutions in Canada and the United States. He is at present in charge of Soil and Land Use Studies in the Conservation Branch, Ontario Department of Planning and Development, from which he has contributed technical assistance to several River Valley Authorities.

Some aspects of the problems of fringe development have come to the attention of this writer in conducting land use surveys for River Conservation Authorities in southern Ontario—particularly those for the Humber and Don rivers, of which the watersheds include much of the fringe areas of Toronto. It may be noted that the approach to the metropolitan problem was there, both literally and figuratively, from the rural aspect.

There are two features of the rural side of the rural-urban fringe which this writer believes might be drawn to the attention of community planners. One is the very real problem of *water*, which is both the most important single natural resource and the focus of studies of all the other natural resources, topography, soil and vegetation. The other is the technical problem of producing the appropriate *land use map* which must form the basis of land use planning.

These two features could be expanded to include many other topics, some of which can be suggested at this point to indicate the large field of study which has been barely touched as yet. *First* is the whole study needed to adapt the extensions of urban areas to the physiographic and soil pattern to be found on the urban fringe. *Second* is the problem of community and recreation planning in rural areas—not only for agricultural villages, but for farm areas as well. Further to the

The suburban estate is peculiar to the metropolitan fringe: a heavy user of water yet too isolated to be supplied from city pipes

C'est surtout dans la périphérie métropolitaine qu'on trouve les domaines de banlieue; on y fait une forte consommation d'eau; mais on est encore trop isolé pour être raccordé aux canalisations de la ville

technique of mapping land use in rural areas are the acquiring and training of personnel to carry out the work.

THE IMPORTANCE OF WATER

Geography, land utilization and conservation cannot be pursued very far without apprehending the vital and critical importance of water. This emphasis is illustrated in the Ontario legislation which sets up river Watershed Authorities in Southern Ontario to carry out conservation programs¹. Water, too little or too much, is the regularly recurring theme in the story of land use. Although the relation is rather more complicated than is commonly supposed, spring flood and summer drouth are two aspects of the water problem. This description is limited to the water supply problem.

Urban areas get water from lakes, rivers, springs and wells. Toronto is fortunate in having a large lake to draw on; and there are those who propose that Metropolitan Toronto will get all its water from the same source. The inhabitants of Metropolitan New York, who get their water from a gravity feed system, were quite put out at the prospect, in an emergency, of having to *pump* and *purify* even a small supplementary supply.

In the matter of water supply I shall, reluctantly, bring to bear a special argument. What happens, in the remote possibility of war or acute civil strife, when a saboteur or a nuisance air raider disrupts, even for a time, a centralized water system? We think of Madrid, London, (with its fire bombs and Emergency Water Services), Singapore and Hong Kong. It occurs to me that solutions imposed by strategic considerations may be those of which we might well have been thinking all along. The same is true of making wise use of certain soils to ensure a local fresh food supply in an emergency; and again the picture of wartime London finding a substitute for the low countries and Channel Islands as sources of fresh vegetables is brought to mind. The impact of the threat of war, a world problem which affects our whole civilization, calls into question a great deal which we ordinarily consider expedient, efficient and 'economic'.

The metropolitan water supply cannot be expected to be brought to the door of every special user on the *fringe*. Even in strictly agricultural areas water demands are increasing and supplies diminishing as the *landscape* changes under changing land use. Add to this the special uses on the metropolitan fringe. They are: large live-stock barns on highly capitalized farm holdings; irrigation for estates, golf courses, and specialized agriculture and horticulture; and fire protection. To this is added the general demand for ample and steady stream flow

¹The Conservation Authorities Act, Revised Statutes of Ontario, 1950, Chapter 62.



for diluting industrial pollution or sewage effluent, and to increase and sustain the recreational and aesthetic value of rivers near metropolitan centres.

On the Don Valley hydraulic engineers found that mechanical means for augmenting summer flow would be costly beyond all consideration². For protection of summer flow, both the Humber and Don rivers require large scale reforestation at the headwaters, and a revolution in farming practices. The urban dweller is interested in farming practices as they affect his water supply as well as his food supply. Forestry introduces a special problem. For reforestation and forest management, lands of low value and low price have heretofore been acquired. Within forty miles of Metropolitan Toronto such land has a *low value*—due to low inherent productive capacity, but a *high price*—due to its scenic and recreational desirability. To benefit the streams which run right through the metropolis and its fringe, the management of these upland areas is vital—for the sake of both the city and its suburbs. Happily it can be said that local and provincial governments are aware of this, and progress is reported.

MAPPING OF FRINGE AREAS

The regional or geographic method of planning is now recognized by most community planners. In this, as in all human activity, inertia exerts a strong control and the alignment of existing installations in the city still determines a good deal in planning extensions. The science of 'urban ecology' has been little used. As it stands, the preparation of the functional city map is standard practice. At the larger scale, geographers, agronomists, conservationists and foresters have mapped a great deal of rural land use and *cover*. But the land in between has been somewhat neglected.

The map of Land Use on the Don Watershed, a fragment of which appears with this paper, was prepared for agricultural land use planning. It is not recommended in its present form as a model of land use mapping for community planners. Its preparation does illustrate certain principles of land classification and some of the techniques.

Three things determine a system of classification. *First*, the rules of logic which require consistent standards throughout; *second*, the geographic characteristics of the region to be classified; and *third*, the purpose or final use of the classification. When a land classification is required to be mapped, good judgment is needed in making sure that units really lend themselves to map presentation.

It is surprising how many people in classifying land start out by defying the rules of logic. Another common mistake is to devise classifications in the office before

applying them in the field, trying to make what is found fit into a predetermined classification.

A good practice is as follows: By reconnaissance, a sample strip which traverses the greatest variety of uses or conditions is selected. All uses are then described and the description indicated on the base map. The use of aerial photographs is recommended for this purpose. A classification is then devised from the description of the sample. It is at this point that the mapping unit must be selected, and minimum areas established—with reference alike to scale of aerial photos or base map, and to scale of work sheet or published map.

On a soil conservation survey the uses are classified according to the degree to which they expose soil to erosion, accelerated run-off, compaction and depletion. This classification is different from that of the agricultural economist. For example, the economist may find raising alfalfa a more intensive use than raising oats. The conservationist, on the other hand, groups alfalfa with hay, meadow and pasture as a soil-building, erosion-resisting crop; and groups oats with grain (or drilled crops) which deplete soil, and in their cultivation expose soil to accelerated erosion and run-off. Neither the economist nor the conservationist would produce a map which could be used directly by the community planner.

The relation between land use and physiography is

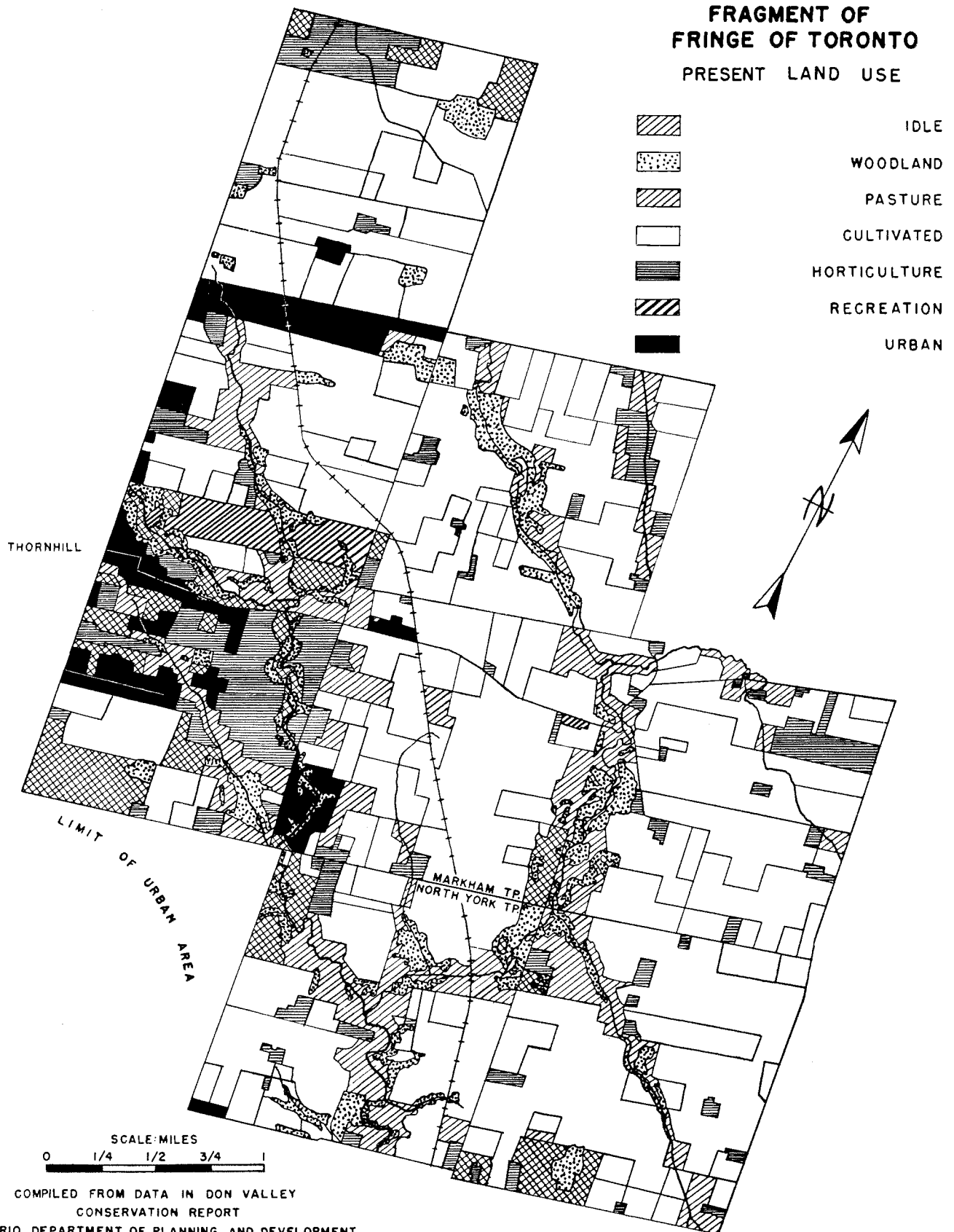
Metropolitan recreation-seekers outbid conservation authorities for headwater areas; but good private management can serve the public purpose as well

Les citoyens désireux de se reposer renchérissent sur les autorités en matière de conservation quand il s'agit des cours d'eau supérieurs; toutefois, une bonne organisation privée peut aussi bien répondre aux besoins du public



²Don Valley Conservation Report, Conservation Branch, Ontario Department of Planning and Development, 1950.

FRAGMENT OF FRINGE OF TORONTO PRESENT LAND USE



COMPILED FROM DATA IN DON VALLEY
CONSERVATION REPORT

ONTARIO DEPARTMENT OF PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

FRAGMENT OF FRINGE OF TORONTO LAND USE CAPABILITIES

SUITABLE FOR CULTIVATION

- WITH NO SPECIAL PRACTICES
- WITH SIMPLE PRACTICES
- WITH INTENSIVE PRACTICES

SUITABLE FOR LIMITED CULTIVATION

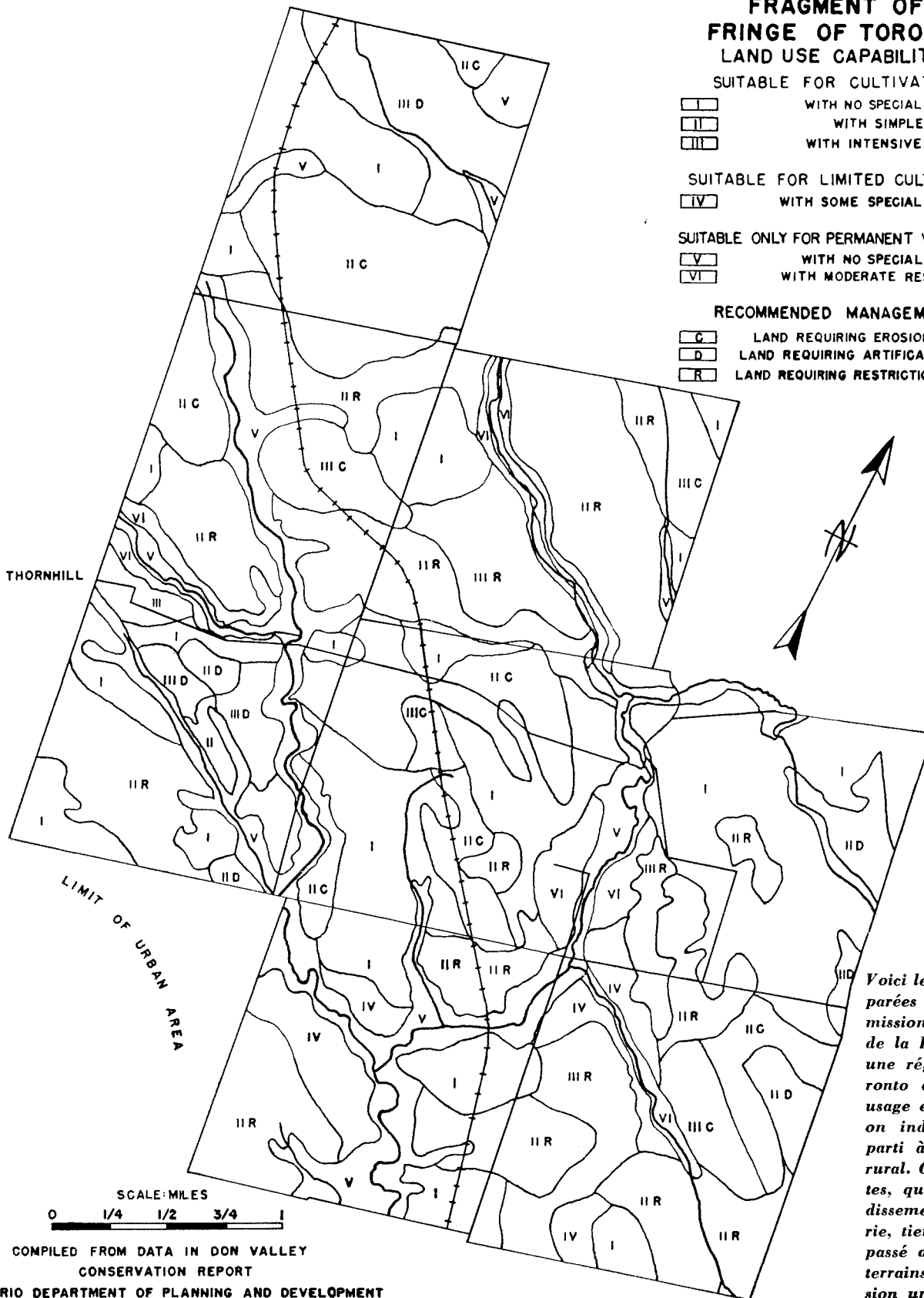
- WITH SOME SPECIAL PRACTICES

SUITABLE ONLY FOR PERMANENT VEGETATION

- WITH NO SPECIAL PRACTICES
- WITH MODERATE RESTRICTIONS

RECOMMENDED MANAGEMENT

- LAND REQUIRING EROSION CONTROL
- LAND REQUIRING ARTIFICIAL DRAINAGE
- LAND REQUIRING RESTRICTIONS IN USE



Voici les parties de deux cartes préparées pour le compte de la Commission de conservation de la vallée de la Don. A gauche, on aperçoit une région sur les limites de Toronto dans laquelle on voit quel usage est fait du terrain. A droite, on indique quel est le meilleur parti à en tirer du point de vue rural. On voudrait que les urbanistes, qui ont à décider de l'agrandissement des villes à leur périphérie, tiennent davantage compte du passé agricole et de la valeur des terrains lorsqu'il s'agit de l'expansion urbaine.

SCALE: MILES

0 1/4 1/2 3/4 1

COMPILED FROM DATA IN DON VALLEY
CONSERVATION REPORT

ONTARIO DEPARTMENT OF PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT



always apparent. There is a tendency among land classifiers, who have started out with 'economic' classifications, to change to systems based on physiography and soil patterns in establishing capability ratings. It has been the practice in river valley conservation surveys to prepare a map of recommended land use in terms of land use capability. This is, in effect, an integration and interpretation of all the physical factors: soil, drainage, topography, slope and erosion. The recommended use for the foreseeable future is that which will adapt use to capability—to retain and improve the condition of soil and moisture—and which will disturb as little as possible the established agricultural economy of the area.

IMPORTANCE OF SEQUENCE OF LAND USES

One aspect of land use study has been neglected, yet in community planning on the fringe cannot be overlooked. That is the history of land use. In agricultural Southern Ontario the pattern of land use was pretty well established by the beginning of this century and can be expected to remain stable for years to come. Around and within a metropolis it is necessary to ascertain the history, to determine the ecological succession of land uses.

An example of this can be seen in the early history of Toronto. About 1910 the city spread up the hill which parallels the lakeshore about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles inland; before that, horticulture occupied certain desirable soils on the lower plain. Residential development replaced horticulture before it invaded other areas. There are still in suburban townships areas of soil types particularly suitable for horticulture, which may be expected to go through the same ecological succession. The limiting factor in their development is the availability of water for irrigation. That some of these areas are being zoned for industry is due, possibly, to the existence of industrial zones in adjacent areas which are to be enlarged; but both the physiographic and ecological factors have been

ignored or outweighed. That they may have been ignored is deplorable. That they should be outweighed is questioned because, as the metropolis grows its perimeter increases—and it would seem that the area available for planning increases as the square of the radial distance from the nucleus. Therefore it may be concluded that on the metropolitan edge the *choice* for a particular use becomes ever greater and adaptation to natural conditions freer of accomplishment.

This example has been put forward, not as a horrible example (because this writer is not qualified in community planning) but for the purpose of showing the place of historical study of land use. Methods of study of history of land use have been well developed.

SUMMARY

On the rural-urban fringe of a metropolis there are special uses of land which are not strictly rural but are induced by proximity to a city. Although heavy users of water they may never be supplied by a metropolitan system. Both the fringe and the city require stable surface supplies of water and stream flow. River conservation authorities and planning boards in Ontario find common ground in their concern for the protection of water supplies and improvement of streams.

Land use classifications and mapping systems for urban planning on the one hand, and for conservation planning on the other, have been fairly well worked out. Land use classification on the fringe has not been so well worked out. Experience in rural land use mapping for conservation purposes is described, inasmuch as it may guide those who will be undertaking classification of lands on the fringe. The importance of land use history for establishing the ecological succession on the fringe is stressed; there has been little application of this study. Beyond built-up areas, classification on a more strictly physiographic basis is essential in determining optimum land uses.





From these gravelly hills rise tributaries to the Don River; forest cover is wanted here, and white pine is spreading naturally (foreground)

C'est de ces collines graveleuses que descendent les tributaires de la rivière Don. La forêt se fait désirer ici. A l'arrière-plan, on aperçoit les végétations naturelles de pin blanc.

Woodlot undergrowth helps maintain summer flow of streams to the city; it is a necessary item of metropolitan equipment (opposite, top)

Le sous-bois aide à maintenir l'écoulement des eaux vers la ville, durant l'été; il est l'un des éléments nécessaires à une cité (p. 66, en haut)

Rills and gullies within a mile of Toronto mark waste of soil and water vital to the metropolis (opposite, bottom)

Les ruisselets et rigoles, à moins d'un mille de Toronto, indiquent le gaspillage de sol et d'eau pourtant nécessaires à la métropole (p. 66, en bas)

Shorter Notes and Reviews

L'auteur, avocat de Vancouver, a lu ce discours aux étudiants en urbanisme de l'Université de la Colombie-Britannique. Il soutient que le régime du droit commun non codifié qui est en vigueur au Canada-Anglais favorise l'urbanisme. En théorie, le système juridique anglais place l'intérêt commun au-dessus de l'intérêt particulier de tout propriétaire de terrain.

THE COMMON LAW AS A PLANNING INSTRUMENT

by William T. Lane*

DISHEARTENED advocates of planning have frequently explained away the apparent inability of the Public to accept well-reasoned arguments in favour of the orderly development of our communities on the ground that the land-holding system of the English-speaking world is, as to modern planning principles, essentially antagonistic. This explanation bears scrutiny; for the Public may indeed be reluctant to accept broad, new principles affecting land use—in the nostalgic belief that the Common Law has always allowed the unfettered use of land. But that belief, it is submitted, is groundless.

Those who examine Canadian history back to Colonial days and British history as far back as the Domesday Book and beyond, are impressed with three factors in the Common Law land tenure system which refute the suggestion that there ever existed any absolute right on the part of the citizen to the land which he holds.

First is the blatant fact that the private persons were seldom, if ever, at any stage in our history, land *owners*. From the very first recorded times down until today the ordinary citizen's claim to his land was and is that of a *tenant*. He is indeed a very privileged tenant, but nevertheless he cannot even now consider himself more privileged than a *tenant in fee-simple* of the King. By "King" of course, is meant the Sovereign representing, in our case, the Canadian people as a whole. We are all familiar with the terms "*joint tenants*", "*tenancy in common*", "*crown lands*", "*reversion to the crown*", and "*the King's highway*". These represent legal relationships which are as effective today as they were at any time in our history. There can be no doubt, then, that the nation, as embodied by the King, is the only true land *owner* in the realm and it consequently follows that the nation can properly demand reasonable land use on the part of its citizen-tenants.

Unusual as it may seem to the misinformed defenders of a "*laissez-faire*" policy with regard to land regulation, the custom of the citizen merely *holding* land rather than actually *owning* it, was observed as long ago as the reigns

of the Saxon Kings of Britain. Tradition, it will be remembered, describes the Folkmoets of these ancient sovereigns as the birthplace of western constitutional freedom. Yet, even in those simple times of Anglo-Saxon individualism, the citizen had no *inalienable* right to his parcel of land.

Furthermore, this custom of citizen-tenancy was rather formally recognized in 1086 when, at Salisbury, William the Conqueror received an oath of personal allegiance from "all the land-sitting men that were in England". It is not surprising then that the law was subsequently epitomized in the Norman legal maxim: "No land exists which has no landlord".

The second extraordinary factor which may be perceived in the examination of the history of Common Law land tenure is its remarkable degree of flexibility. Popular description deems it a system of "living law". It is interesting to trace the shifting emphasis of importance placed by the Common Law Courts, first upon the community, then upon the citizen, and then upon the community again, as Britain's economy changed down through the centuries.

In the beginning land custom facilitated the operation of the semi-communal farming villages that were the numerous vertebrae in the backbone of the Old English economy. With the advent of small separate farm holdings and the growth of cities with their many shops and tenements, the citizen's side of the ancient law was stressed. Recently, technological progress and general prosperity have transformed our way of life drastically—particularly in the fields of transportation and mass recreation. So completely has this transformation occurred that our Courts are now frequently adopting, as they are bound to do by the very nature of the Common Law, a positive social awareness, born of necessity, which recognizes anew the extensive and vital land rights of the community as a whole.

The third impressive factor that presents itself in the history of our land tenure system is the fact that nowhere among the roots of the Common Law can we find a parent set of customs granting the citizen absolute unfettered use of his land.

* Barrister and Solicitor of Vancouver; this note based on a lecture given in the course on Community and Regional Planning at the University of British Columbia.

On the contrary, we find that from the Romans we have adopted the concept that landholding entails citizenship *obligations*. From the Teutonic tribes we gained the principle that the community holds land in *common* for the benefit of all its members. Finally, from the Normans we received the concept of the community's domain being held by a living feudal monarch for ever in *trust*, so to speak, for his subjects.

Community planners should take heart then, in the fact that the Common Law, far from being an obstruction to planning progress, is in reality an instrument capable of being used effectively to attain the orderly development of our towns and countryside. The recalcitrant minority among property "owners" should be reminded that the basic legal element in land holding in this country is, and always has been, the *community's interest*.

THE URBAN PATTERN

Arthur B. Gallion*

In the first part of the book the author and his collaborator, Simon Eisner, present a lesson from history placing emphasis on the socio-economic features which characterize the process of city evolution.

The parts which follow are devoted to the Industrial City, the City of Today, the Planning Process, Contemporary Standards, and New Horizons.

Throughout the study the author treats the subject matter with emphasis on the magnitude and variety of the social functions and processes which shape our physical environment. To quote the author in the preface:

"Nearly every enterprise in which people engage, whether it is domestic or production and trade, is affected by and, in turn, shapes the design of cities. Real estate, finance, the social sciences and economics, the law, public administration and political science, architecture and building, engineering and the arts, all are woven into the physical pattern of the city."

Generally speaking, all parts of the book are up-to-date and the many references, statistics and diagrams, relate not only to American examples, but also to those of other countries. Mr. Fialkowski has contributed a great deal to the overall effect of the publication by his most excellent and refreshing sketches which introduce each chapter of the book. One reads about the Swedish *Kooperatives* and the garden suburbs, the French *Cité-Jardin* and the pre-war German *Siedlungen*, planning techniques, and public utility societies. The British examples cover all important contributions to housing and planning generally.

The author's selection of material and of subject matter in detail, reveals the skill of a planning diagnostician, who is capable of analysing planning problems in their entirety.

* Van Nostrand, 228 Bloor W. Toronto, 1950. \$14.00.



Plan of Greenbelt, Maryland by Hale Walker—from *The Urban Pattern* by Arthur Gallion (see also page 59)

Le plan de Greenbelt (Maryland), par Hale Walker, d'après The Urban Pattern, par Arthur Gallion (Voir aussi, page 59)

In the main body of the book, the reader will find more than enough food for thought especially in connection with all fundamental aspects of the city planning process. To mention these aspects briefly:

The problems of the city have been comprehensively stated; perhaps for the sake of simplification it would have been preferable to state these problems under one main heading instead of collating them under the titles "Industrial City" and "the City of Today". Then follows a discussion of the legal aspect in explanation of the planning law in detail and its use as a means of social control. In this connection the discussion includes a description of the master plan (better still, development plan) and its implications in planning. In the last part of the book a treatise with diagrams illustrating our "New Horizons" presents ideas and reasons for the rebuilding of our cities. Reference is made also to the atom bomb and the effect which atomic power will have upon the shape of our cities. *The Urban Pattern* by Gallion should be of interest to planners, architects and also to those concerned with the defence of our cities.

Gallion's analysis of the problems of our cities as well as his survey of trends and planning possibilities for the future are directly connected with the pressing problem of today—that of defence. The point at issue is fundamental: Do we repeat mistakes made in the past or shall we direct our thinking along new and more rational lines? In this connection, I believe, some recent comments and observations might be worthy of mention.

The National Defence Committee of the American Institute of Architects has very succinctly stated the planning task of today: "A task which fits the capabilities of our architects is to integrate the short-run programs made necessary by the defence emergency with the long-run programs which past errors in planning and rapid urban growth made necessary in any event."

The scope of the problem is apparent, by reason of the fact that something like 140 cities in the United States have been designated as official primary targets. A two billion dollar shelter program is proposed in the States containing such official target areas. It should be obvious that the city problems and defence problems confronting us today cannot be solved by building shelters alone. In the long view, the most the cities can hope for is the conversion of these shelters to underground parking lots.

We are compelled to go beyond the idea of building shelters. Concentrated industrial production and the resulting metropolitan growth call for more comprehensive action to be taken.

We must achieve the safety of space which can be done only by planned decentralization of our congested urban environment. When introducing "The New Utopians", Gallion stated: "Decentralization is the theme running through all studies of the New Utopians. Whether it is referred to as re-centralization or as sub-centralization, the theme reveals the typical search for escape from congestion . . ." The idea of planned decentralization as discussed in the January issue of the A.I.A. Journal concludes that a good many decentralized communities could be established now and these could be built without excessive cost and without the use of more material than is already proposed in existing official schemes. All that is needed is the determination to accomplish the task.

V. J. KOSTKA

Department of Architecture,
University of Manitoba

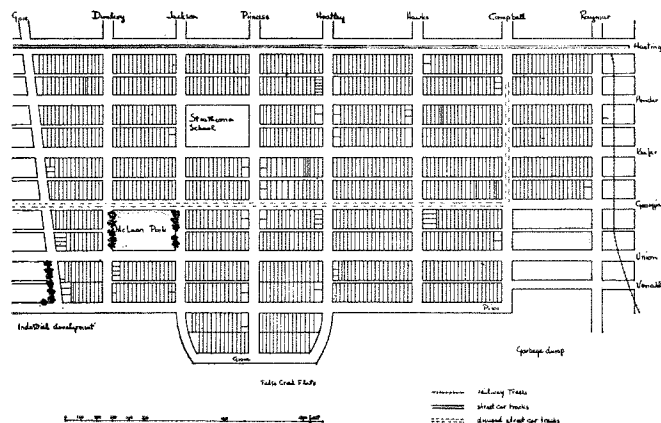
REBUILDING A NEIGHBOURHOOD

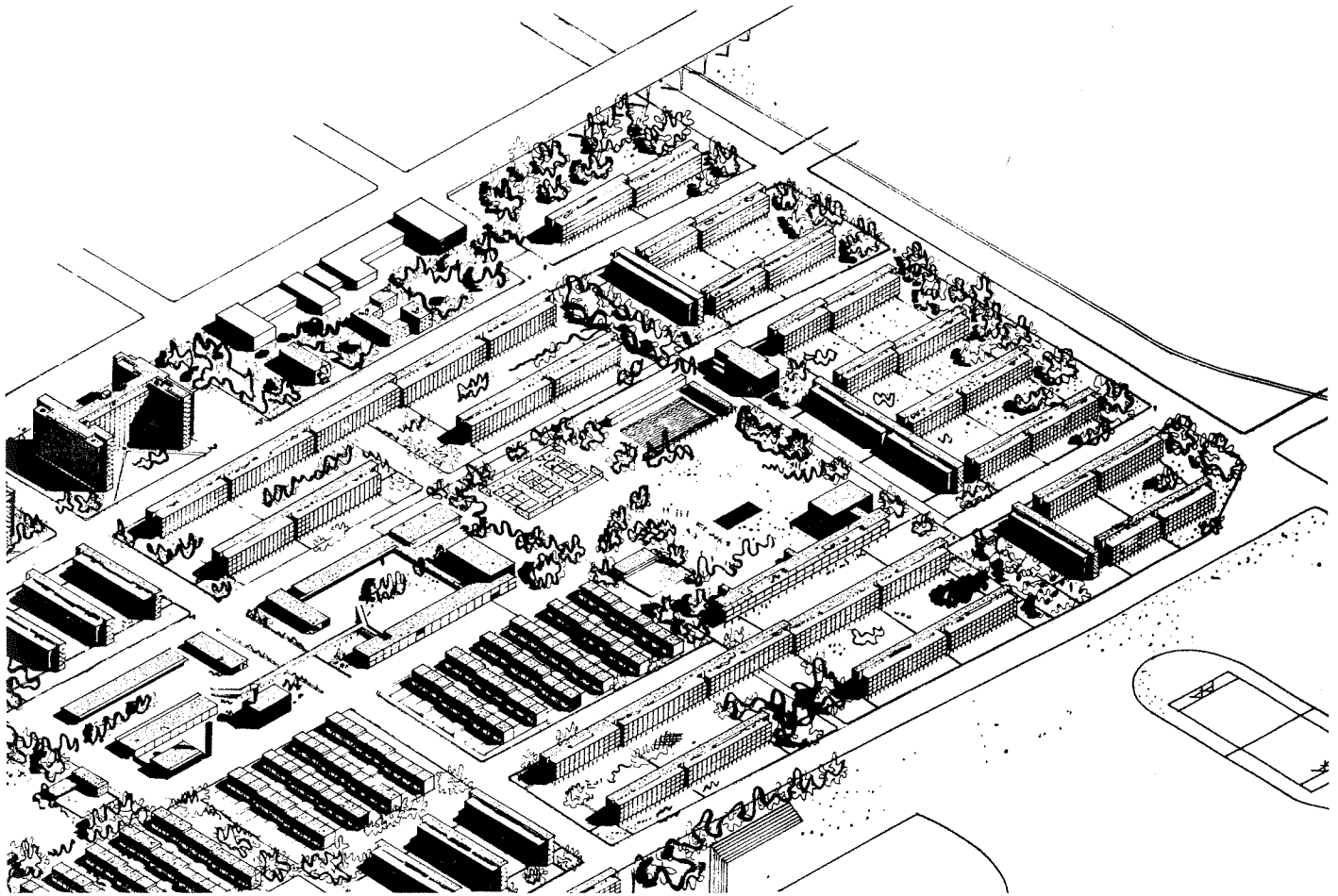
Leonard C. Marsh*

Canada is beginning to discover one of the more unpleasant lessons of industrialization. The financial journals have gloated for these past few years on the rapid rise in industrial activity: the spread of new factories has been charted with triumphant statistics of new employment, floor space of new factories and mounting tables of new capital invested. During and since World War II Canadians have poured into the great urban industrial centres of British Columbia, Southern Ontario and the Quebec industrial areas. At the same time the old established urban industrial centres have begun to wear out. Industry is quick to meet obsolescence by building newer and bigger plants, often out-of-town on the fringe of the urban centres. Commerce and trade have torn down old offices and shops and erected new temples. But it seems to be nobody's business to tear down and renew the obsolescent homes, which, in the nature of events, are on the way to become slums. Leonard Marsh in this book has set out to show that it is public good sense, as well as good public business to tackle the problem of the 'blighted area' before it becomes a slum.

There have been many studies of this kind in Great Britain, where they were almost a prerequisite in the period between the wars to action in the great public program (conducted largely by successive Conservative Ministers of Health, notably Neville Chamberlain and Kingsley Wood) of re-housing the people. This book, however, is one of the first thorough examinations of the obsolescent housing which is now becoming prevalent in all the great urban centres of Canada. It is true, as

* University of British Columbia, Research Publications No. 1, Vancouver, 1951. \$2.00.





Existing Vancouver street pattern (below, left) and portion of proposed redevelopment (above) from *Rebuilding a Neighbourhood* by Leonard Marsh

Le tracé actuel des rues de Vancouver (en bas, à gauche) et une partie de la remise en valeur proposée (en haut), d'après Rebuilding a Neighbourhood par Leonard Marsh

Marsh ruefully reflects in his Foreword, that it is fifteen years or more since public-spirited citizens began to worry about this state of affairs, but there has been little or no coherent purpose and less action. If this book can compel attention to the need for action, even while defense expenditures take increasing priority, it will have served its purpose.

This book has much to commend it from that point of view. Not only does it uncover the present ills and potential evils of a small but severely blighted area of Vancouver, but it propounds a businesslike and well documented solution, which, on the evidence, should be a sound basis for action. It also provides the working tools of research by which similar areas in any city can be examined with efficiency and accuracy. Outside Vancouver this book should be found on the desks not only of social planners, civic officials, and government servants but also of business executives and officers of Boards of Trade. Obsolescent homes are bad business for any city. The costs are now being paid, as Marsh trenchantly observes:

"The costs of wretched housing and demoralizing neighbourhoods are not escaped—there should be no mistake about this. They are borne, day after day, by the men, women and children who live in the run-down districts of our own cities; but they are borne also in some part by every property owner and every tax-payer." The costs will continue to rise, doubled and re-doubled by every decade of delay. As Marsh says elsewhere in the book "Slums are a problem of municipal finance: not only because social ills cost money—a hard fact which some comfortable citizens refuse to face—but because deterioration in the older areas of the city saps at the roots of municipal revenue."

There is so much solid fact packed into so small a space that it is difficult to select without distorting. The book is not long—some 75 pages including tables and an excellent selection of annotated photographs—and should be read as a whole.

The Findings of the Survey are clearly and logically set out. This is not a slum, but an area at the critical point when it may easily become one—or be rejuvenated

into a productive healthful living neighbourhood. Like many similar areas, it is remarkable for the wasteful use of land, for the clear indication that one of the root problems of Canadian cities is lack of low-rental housing, for the proof that blighted areas cost their cities more than they yield in revenues.

There are many facts which should jolt the easy complacency of those who speak and write of the high standards of living of the North American nations. One example must suffice to illustrate this point. Very limited standards of adequacy are established for bathroom and toilet plumbing (in the case of toilet plumbing 'Toilet inadequacy means that there is no inside flush toilet, or only an outside toilet, or earth toilet, or that there is special evidence of dirt, disuse, or breakdown') and the detailed study concludes:

"By these criteria, nearly one-third of all houses and other buildings taken as a whole fail to measure up to a decent standard for bathing, and more than one fifth for toilet facilities."

The proposals in Part II of the book are business-like and realistic. The author has done his best to create a genuine neighbourhood out of a disorderly tangle of wasted opportunities. He has taken account of all the available assets, such as existing utilities (gas, water, sewage, traffic routes, adjacent industrial facilities, open spaces, etc.). He has related his proposals to the existing population and their actual housing needs as revealed in this careful study. Full advantage has been taken of modern construction methods, of the need for space and sunlight as well as roofs and rooms. Community facilities have been included in such a way that a real community could be created. Perhaps the most important chapter, because it relates to a matter not sufficiently studied in Canada, is Chapter 7 on Administration. American and British experience have demonstrated conclusively that large-scale housing operations require appropriate as well as efficient management. This is a social as well as a financial and maintenance operation and this feature of adequate administration has been briefly but firmly stated. One of the most realistic features of the book is that Marsh recognizes the need for step by step development of the proposed plan. This is no enthusiast's blue print of Utopia, but a hard headed practical proposition well worth consideration.

It would be possible to make many counter-proposals in detail. In spite of the arguments which Marsh advances to justify so large a proportion of apartment dwellings in the face of a demand from 44.9% of householders for single houses, experience in Great Britain suggests that a very high proportion of all householders dislike apartments and find it more difficult to convert an apartment into a home. The veteran leader of the British Garden Cities movement, F. J. Osborn, would never accept these proposals which contain so many

apartment blocks. The airview isometric drawing flatters the eventual appearance of the proposal. If and when it is built, it will too closely resemble a well-organized modern factory estate and too little a neighbourhood of homes. (*See portion of airview on page 71.*)

This and many other details, however, are quite subordinate to the main achievement of these proposals. That is the clear recognition that satisfactory treatment of obsolescent housing areas must be a coherent and planned operation, taking in the whole of an area and proceeding in an orderly and businesslike way to re-create adequate living conditions for the most precious of Canada's industrial assets, her men and women and the children who must carry the great surge of industrial production forward into the next generation. The only agency capable of large-scale action appropriate to the need is government. Government in Canada has so far been tardy to recognize what every European government learnt in the Twenties and Thirties, that bad housing conditions are an endemic disease of modern industrial life. They are not the accidental product of the war-time shortages, although those conditions have aggravated the condition almost to the danger-point.

While the content is so good, it is necessary, if seemingly unkind, to complain of its presentation and format, which is unfortunate. The quarto-size (11" x 8") may be satisfactory in a report for the files, but it is an awkward size for the bookshelf, and produces a volume which is too thin and too limp. The pages are too full, with inadequate margins and crammed with a type which is not easy on the eye. The Tables are not easy to read, nor are they always uniform in style or quickly apprehended. The make up, which produces solid sections of illustrations or of plans and diagrams at somewhat unexpected points in the text, is distracting: neither the text nor the illustrations get their fair share of the reader's attention. The target of the author is not always clear. If this book is intended for wide circulation much more thought should have been given to layout, typography, and presentation; and indeed, in some places to style, which sometimes assumes a technical knowledge which the general reader is not likely to have. If the book is intended primarily for the town-planner and those with technical knowledge, it would have been better to group all the photographs and all the plans together for careful consideration. The photographs themselves are excellently chosen and well annotated; the drawings and plans are clear and easy to read.

All who really care about the social conditions of the Canadian people will study this report carefully. It should be both a call to action and a model for further studies.

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